

GIVE PROHIBITION ITS CHANCE

ELLA A. BOOLE, Ph. D.

President, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union



Second

Edition

President Hoover says:

"Our country has deliberately undertaken a great social and economic experiment, noble in motive and far-reaching in purpose. It must be worked out constructively."

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*President, National Woman's Christian
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¶ Mrs. Boole has served the W. C. T. U. in practically every capacity. She knows the contribution the women of America have made to the sentiment that made prohibition possible. She knows the present situation and the danger of a false repose.

¶ Her book will stimulate all who have the interests of the home and the family at heart, and who desire to strengthen the hands of the Government in its endeavor to thoroughly purge the land of the liquor evil, in whatsoever form and fashion found.

¶ The author is widely read in her subject and has the wisdom to realize that the abolition of the legal sale of liquor does not automatically prevent illegal traffic. On the contrary only the whole-hearted support of every good citizen will make it successful.

¶ Part history, part survey, part record of present activity and part outline of proposed effort, this work is a plea to the friends of Prohibition and a challenge to its foes. It is accurate in its facts, fair in its appraisal of the situation, and practical in its conclusions.

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THE CRUSADE PSALM

Psalm 146

PRAISE ye the Lord. Praise the Lord, O my soul.

While I live will I praise the Lord; I will sing praises unto my God while I have any being.

Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help.

His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish.

Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God:

Which made heaven, and earth, the sea, and all that therein is; which keepeth truth for ever;

Which executeth judgment for the oppressed; which giveth food to the hungry. The Lord looseth the prisoners:

The Lord openeth the eyes of the blind: the Lord raiseth them that are bowed down: the Lord loveth the righteous:

The Lord preserveth the strangers; he relieveth the fatherless and widow: but the way of the wicked he turneth upside down.

The Lord shall reign forever, even thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. Praise ye the Lord.

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*To the Crusade Mothers
and their children
and their children's children
who will give prohibition its chance*

FOREWORD

IN the Appalachian Mountains, there are great groups of sturdy Americans who have been left behind in the march of civilization. For a hundred years these people have lived there without schools, with the crudest of religious institutions, without railroads or other communication with the rest of the world. The situation was well described in the words of the wife of a mountaineer—"We ain't never had no chance." To-day, the churches, the women's missionary societies, and women's clubs, are giving these splendid people of the Southern Mountains a chance by establishing schools and founding churches.

The great American experiment of prohibition has not yet had its chance.

The purpose of this book is to record, without statistics, the part the women of America have had in the progress of the prohibition movement; to analyze, if possible, its psychology, and to show why women are determined that prohibition shall have its chance. This is done with full appreciation of the great service rendered by men, without whom prohibition could not have been adopted. It is done with full appreciation of the many coöperative movements in which men and women are now working side by side.

Prohibition became the law of our land in 1920. During the intervening years some have misunderstood it and some, constrained by appetite, greed, and avarice, have refused to obey the law. Not always has its enforcement been in the hands of its friends, and it has not accomplished all that its friends hoped for it:—now, let us give it its chance; the liquor traffic had its day. This book is written with a desire to tell the story of how women were called into the temperance movement, to show what women have done to aid in bringing about this great reform, and the responsibility which is theirs in securing the fullest benefits from the increased facilities established by law for the better protection of the home.

Eternal vigilance was the price of liberty in Revolutionary days. Eternal vigilance will be the price of prohibition established and enforced, and women must help give prohibition its chance.

E. A. B.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

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I

WHEN THE SALOON HAD ITS DAY

EVER since the days of Noah there has been a drink problem. Through the Middle Ages the use of liquor was universal and drunkenness was so common it was unnoticed. Even before the Revolution, the struggle had begun in the American Colonies to remedy some of the evils of intemperance. George Washington's suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion in Western Pennsylvania was the first instance of the use of the Federal authority of the new country to control a defiant business.

It is well to consider the situation about the middle of the nineteenth century. The literature of the day tells the story. Public and private drinking were prevalent. No public occasion was celebrated without drink. Records disclose that at the installation of ministers, at the inauguration of public officials, at banquets, at weddings and even at funerals, liquor of all kinds was provided and consumed without public protest. It was sold in groceries, in drug stores, in dry goods stores, in saloons, and at hotel bars. The barroom was an important part of every hotel; quite often, there was little else besides. The saloons were called

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the working man's clubs and every effort was exerted to secure his patronage. The hours during which they remained open were long—from 6 A. M. until midnight, and in cities from 5 A. M. to 1 A. M. The sale of liquor was legalized six days a week, but continued illegally on Sundays.

The saloons were well located, usually on corners, or strategically near places where large numbers of men were employed. On pay-days they did a big business, for in some states liquor bills were not collectible by law; consequently, the slate on which records were kept, was wiped clean first on pay-day, even though the butcher and the grocer were made to wait. The treating habit was common, and "the wiping of the slate" was celebrated by treating all hands. Many a man left not merely the larger share of his earnings at the bar of the saloon, but sometimes all of them, and was kicked into the street drunk and penniless when his money was gone.

Drinking was common in homes and at all social functions. New Year's Day was observed by young men making calls on their young women friends who kept open house. It was the universal custom to serve refreshments in which all kinds of wine held prominent place. New Year's night found many young men drunk and numbers of young women who were not entirely sober.

Drinking in colleges caused more trouble at that time than now although the number of college

students was small and the colleges few. There was a rum ration in the Army and Navy, and many a man came home from the Civil War cursed with an uncontrollable appetite for liquor which he had acquired during his term of service, and because of which, he wasted his money. Even as late as the Spanish-American War, the Army canteen sold beer and wine in camps and forts. Liquor was sold in the restaurants in the Capitol, beer and wine at Ellis Island and in Soldiers' Homes.

Society saw no relation between its consumption of liquor and the profligate son who disgraced his family, or the man, more or less prominent, who was "under the table" at the close of the banquet.

As yet, labour was not organized, but Monday was "blue" Monday because with Saturday a pay-day and Sunday a holiday, many men failed to report for work, or if they did report, failed to do a day's work. The poorhouses were filled with old men and old women, rendered penniless by drink. There were women who disgraced themselves and their families by getting drunk, for a drunken woman was always repulsive—then, as now. The saloon and the house of ill-fame went hand-in-hand. The saloon filled the brothel; the brothel filled the saloon.

The saloon controlled the politics of the community. The back room was the meeting place of the caucus. It was there that the money changed hands which decided many an election.

T. S. Arthur's book, *Ten Nights in a Barroom*,

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presented a true picture of what was happening all over the country. It was the home that suffered because of prevailing conditions—the women and children who did without necessary food and clothing because of money spent for drink which should have been spent for the benefit of the home. It was the wife and mother who listened until midnight for the staggering footsteps of her drunken husband or son. I have always been afraid of a drunken man. I will change my seat in a car any time to avoid sitting next to one, or will cross a street rather than pass a man staggering along the sidewalk. And I cannot help but think, with large sympathy, of the woman whose husband in those days came home drunk, locked the door—his house being his castle—who claimed the right to treat his wife as he pleased, and in his drunkenness considered her his property.

Nor was this all. The saloon and the barroom were the center of the social life of the community, and it was her son, perhaps, that she waited for—her beloved son. Can we imagine the heartbreak of the mother, when he came home drunk? What was his value to her? First, she had given up social life for him. That was worth something. She had gone down almost to the gates of death to give him birth, and had cared for him when he was a baby—that meant something too. It meant that she had scarcely known what it was to have a good night's sleep until he was two years old. She had prepared his food, made his clothes, taken care of him

when he was sick, supervised his lessons while at school; all of which, translated into terms of money, would have represented a good investment. But she counted not money when it concerned her boy, and the saloon had ruined him! Do we wonder that mothers hated the saloon?

And little children hated it, for it made them suffer as it did their mothers. Their fathers loved them when they were sober but when crazed by drink, fathers were cross, or stupid, or brutal. They treated neither mother nor children right. Is it any wonder that children hated the saloon?

Again, the worst element of the community had its meeting-place in the saloon. Degeneracy marked its path and it defied laws made for its control. There were states, of course, where a wife might forbid a saloon-keeper to sell liquor to her husband on the ground that he was an habitual drunkard; but the law was flagrantly violated on every hand.

Most states forbade the sale of liquor on Sunday, but side-doors were open on that day and often front doors as well, until it was said, "They'll sell anyway. Why not license them?" There were laws forbidding the sale of liquor to minors; yet children were sent to the saloons for beer, and it was sold to them openly in defiance of the law.

On one occasion I was addressing the Sunday school of the church in New York City of which my husband was pastor. In order to point a moral, I told the story of a woman who had worked hard

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all day, and when she got home, sent her little boy across the street for a pint of beer. "Five times she sent him," I explained. "Now, that beer was seven cents a pint." All over the room the children called out, "No, *eight* cents a pint." They knew from experience, far better than I, what was the current price of beer.

The saloon typified the liquor traffic and rendered it concrete, and it was against the saloon that the hatred of women was directed. The state of Maine had adopted state prohibition; but in this great work, led by Neal Dow, women had had little share. In fact, women's public work was in its infancy. There were few women's clubs. The missionary societies were not strong, and missions meant Foreign Missions. Home Missionary Societies were not organized until 1875. There was a missionary society in New England that was called the Female Cent Missionary Society—"Female," because that is what women were called in those days, and "Cent" because that was the measure of what women had to give.

Women were not active in public work. Few led in public prayer, even in prayer-meeting, and there were *real* prayer-meetings in those days! Women taught primary and intermediate classes in Sunday schools, but had no place of authority in the churches. They taught day-school, but their wages were less than those received by men for the same work. Teaching was about the only profession open to them. The home was the

center of their life and interest, and the saloon hurt the home at every angle. Women prayed for deliverance; they prayed in the home; they prayed in the midnight hours; they prayed with their hearts breaking, and their eyes filled with tears. And God hearkened to, and answered their prayers!

II

THE SPIRIT OF THE CRUSADE

TEMPERANCE work flared spasmodically before the Civil War, but afterward died down noticeably; and the women of America who had borne so great a burden from drink were made even more sorrowful because so many of the men returned from the war with dissolute habits. Liquor and drunkenness were making the headway of rank weeds and there appeared to be no way to stop this evil until out of a clear sky the women began to march and pray against the saloon!

This was the Woman's Crusade of 1873 and 1874. It came without preparation, without national organization, without blare and brass; but it was in answer to the prayers of women who had been asking God for deliverance from the evils of the saloon. The Crusade swept across Ohio and through the Middle West like a prairie fire of the pioneer days. Church bells tolled, women who had never taken part in anything more public than a prayer-meeting, went boldly out into the streets, marched from liquor store to liquor store, prayed on the sidewalks and in the drinking places, and in the end swept the saloon from hundreds of com-

munities and set in motion the forces that led to the adoption of state and national prohibition.

The spirit of the Crusade was powerful. It was religious. It would be almost impossible to reproduce to-day the conditions in which that Crusade manifested itself, because to-day women are recognized as a part of business, church, and state. In those days women had little part in anything outside the domestic circle; not even a part in the lagging work of temperance.

The lyceum lecture course was the chief intellectual feast of the fall and winter in the smaller cities and towns in the seventies; and it was a famous lecturer of that time who struck the spark which fired the Crusade. He was Dr. Dio Lewis of Boston, son of a drunkard father, who had seen and understood the suffering brought to his mother and her children through drink. Dr. Lewis's mother had been one of a group of women who had banded together forty years previously to destroy the saloon, but no one took women seriously in reform work and in fact the time had not arrived when women were allowed to do anything of the sort.

Dr. Lewis delivered his regular lyceum lecture, "Our Girls," at Fredonia, New York, on December 13, 1873. The following evening, at the invitation of the Good Templars, he delivered a temperance address in the Baptist Church before a large audience. He repeated in that talk a suggestion he had made many times—that the women of the com-

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munity meet in prayer and afterward visit the saloon-keepers and ask them to stop selling liquor. And this time his suggestion bore fruit.

The next day the women of the congregation met, and after a season of earnest prayer, organized with the wife of Judge Barker as a leader, calling themselves the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. They prepared an address which was delivered by them to the saloon-keepers of the community.

On the fiftieth anniversary of that meeting the following story was told: The women were to meet at ten o'clock. Before nine, a lady called at the home of Mrs. Tremaine, the one woman in the community who was accustomed to lead in public prayer, and asked her to be at the church at ten o'clock. It was a busy Monday, the day by custom and general consent devoted to the weekly washing, and Mrs. Tremaine was not physically strong. But her daughter said, "Mother, you go and pray; I will stay at home and do the washing." The mother went and prayed, and that was the beginning of a work in Fredonia which has continued unto this day.

On the Monday following, Dr. Lewis spoke in Jamestown, in the same county, to another large audience and made the same suggestion with the result that the women met and organized a Woman's Temperance Society. That organization also has continued without a break, down to the present hour. The first members died many years

ago; but over seven hundred and fifty women in Jamestown, now members of the W. C. T. U., continue the work which began there in 1874.

Dr. Lewis had long felt that women could, by prayer, close the saloons but former efforts were not permanent and there was no evidence that he was kindling a fire that would spread all over the land, and around the world. He proceeded with his itinerary and on December 23 spoke in the Presbyterian Church of Hillsboro, Ohio. Another large audience greeted him. History does not record the substance of his address, but it does tell of how he touched the hearts of men and women in his audience, as he again suggested that the women go forth into the saloons and barrooms to pray with, and for, the men who were ruining the homes of the community and wrecking human lives. At the conclusion of the meeting the women, urged by the men, decided to meet the following morning for prayer and action. Mrs. E. J. Thompson was not present at the lecture, but her son and daughter were, and when they went home they told their mother about it. Because of her absence Mrs. Thompson had not caught the spirit of the meeting, but she was a praying woman, she knew the evils of drink, and although she hesitated, she did not say "No."

The next morning her daughter came to her with her Bible opened at the One Hundred and Forty-sixth Psalm, and as the mother read, she heard the call. Mrs. Thompson, thereafter known

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around the world as "Mother Thompson," was at the church in time for the arranged meeting. She had never presided at a public meeting, had never heard her own voice in public prayer, but she was chosen leader. Afterward, she said she was absolutely speechless, and unable to move.

The ministers, together with some of the leading churchmen of the town, were there to lend moral support. Finally, one of the men said, "It is plain the women will not proceed as long as we are here"; so the men withdrew to another room and the women were left alone. Mrs. Thompson now took her place as presiding officer. They sang "Give to the Winds Thy Fears," and she read the One Hundred and Forty-sixth Psalm—since known as the Crusade Psalm. She called upon another woman who had never before prayed in public to lead in prayer. Then the entire company formed in line—seventy in all—and began their calls upon the druggists and saloon-keepers. They went inside the first saloon. Bibles in hand, they read and prayed. They went to the next saloon; they visited the druggists. The next day was Christmas, but with this one day intervening they continued, the next day and the next. The weather was bad; it rained and it snowed; but, all undaunted, they continued their work until saloon-keeper after saloon-keeper surrendered, and his liquor was poured into the gutter. The Crusade here lasted three months, and Hillsboro is accorded the honour of being the birthplace of the Crusade, because

here public attention was first focused on the movement, and from here it spread.

Dr. Lewis proceeded on his way and the following Sunday spoke in Washington Court House. The same result followed. Led by Mrs. George B. Carpenter, wife of the Presbyterian minister, the women of Washington Court House heard the call. They, too, prayed in the saloons day after day, and continued so to do for weeks. Here the work was most successful. It was well organized; it had the hearty support of the ministers and the best men and women of the community. The Sabbath was devoted to union mass meetings. By Monday a hundred women were enrolled.

Monday, December 29, 1873, is long to be remembered in Washington Court House as the day upon which the first liquor dealer surrendered his stock of liquors to the women in answer to their prayers and entreaties. Then for the first time, the women saw liquor flowing into the gutter as the result of their efforts.

Meetings were continued every day. An ever-increasing solemnity filled the hearts of those patient, consecrated women. Spectators were awed—saloon men were subdued. One man said: "From the time you first entered my place of business, I knew I must stop." The tolling of the church bell caught every ear, and solemnized every mind. Little business was transacted. All interest was centered on these wonderful events. "At length, on Friday, January 2, 1874," said one of

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those who crusaded, "one week from the beginning of the work, at the public meeting held in the evening, the secretary's report announced that every liquor dealer had unconditionally surrendered, some having shipped their liquors back to wholesale dealers, others having poured them in the gutters; and that the druggists all had signed the druggists' pledge. Thus, a campaign of prayer and song had in eight days closed eleven saloons and pledged three drug stores not to sell except on prescription."

Washington Court House was a great victory for the women; and as the news spread through the Middle West and the country-at-large, women everywhere felt the urge to inaugurate the work in their own communities. Among the leaders of the women at that time was one whose name will ever remain in the hearts of those who followed after her—I refer to Eliza D. Stewart of Springfield, Ohio, the beloved "Mother Stewart," who had been a temperance worker in the Good Templars and who organized praying bands of crusading women in Springfield, Ohio.

Twenty-two states felt the tread of the women's feet; more than two hundred cities and towns heard their voices in prayer and the voices were those of the most beloved and most respected women. Against them the saloon-keepers could do nothing, except be angry and resort to indignities. Their trade fell off, for as the women entered the front door of the saloons to pray, the patrons

left hurriedly by the back door. The women were reviled, but reviled not again.

The Crusade was successful, but while many of the saloon-keepers quietly closed out their business and retired from liquor selling there were also a great many who resorted to violence and brutality in their opposition to the women. A mob in Cleveland, headed by members of a brewery organization, beat and kicked some of the women as they knelt in prayer, and a man who attempted to defend the women was badly injured. He would have been killed had not the police interfered.

The women finally had to take refuge in a deserted store with front door locked and bolted, or there would have been a greater tragedy from a vengeful mob. A Jewish saloon-keeper met the women with a picture of Christ crowned with thorns. He raised the picture on a pole before a mob of drunken blasphemers. Three fierce dogs were set upon Mrs. Charles Wheeler:

“Without ceasing her prayer she gently laid her hands upon their heads, and as though taught of a higher power than their master’s, they crouched at her feet and were quiet.”

This was recorded by Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, first president of the National Woman’s Christian Temperance Union.

“A particularly ugly and vicious mob endeavoured to break up the open air prayers of the women in Cincinnati who assembled daily in a market square. One day . . . they found an

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unusually vile and belligerent crowd. Butchers fresh from their stalls, with their sleeves rolled up, their bloody aprons on, their butcher knives in their hands; villainous looking men with ugly pistols protruding from their pockets; and women debased by strong drink, uttering curses . . . while just across the street a cannon had been placed so as to sweep the market house if fired."

The cannon was undoubtedly a trick to frighten the crusading women, but it had this effect only on the mob of people who gathered. As the women, led that day by Mrs. Leavitt, marched straight through the crowd to their daily gathering place, they sang:

*"There is a fountain filled with blood
Drawn from Immanuel's veins,
And sinners plunged beneath that flood
Lose all their guilty stains."*

The crowd was hushed to silence; and as Mrs. Leavitt knelt to the pavement to pray, she looked squarely into the threatening mouth of that cannon. She wrote afterward that she remembered saying to herself, "If God wants to take me, as He took Elijah, to heaven in a chariot of fire, I would just as soon go that way as any other."

She let the cannon take care of itself, and turned to praying. There came down a mighty awakening upon the people, and in that hour the most desperate and unbelieving bent their heads and tears streamed down many a sin-scarred face.

The Cincinnati police arrested Mrs. Leavitt and forty-three other women on a trumped-up charge of violating some city ordinance. They remained in cells two hours and were paroled until the following Monday morning, when they all faced the judge:

" . . . while they were trying prisoners for drunkenness, we who were arrested for trying to keep them from drinking went around, preached Christ and got twenty signatures to our pledge."

They were an unusual sight in that Cincinnati police court, where Monday morning meant a bedlam of drunks and disorderly ruffians. Six women were the wives of well-known ministers; three were the wives of bankers; all the others were from the families of well-known and wealthy citizens. They were just as pretty as they could be and they were dressed in their very best. The judge did not know what to do. Finally, however, he told them they had all been very naughty and dismissed them with the warning not to do it again.

"The city officers and the police force were in the interests of the liquor traffic," says Mrs. Leavitt, "and the arrest of the ladies was a part of a well concerted plan to break down the temperance work."

In Carthage, Missouri, women led by the wife of the Rev. H. R. Miller of the Methodist Church, suffered nameless and almost innumerable insults and indignities. The saloons organized mobs to break up the prayer-meetings with tin horns bought

and paid for by the mayor of the town. When the women prayed in the streets in front of one of the saloons, a rough man with a fiddle danced and played before them. Another saloon-keeper rigged up a force pump and drenched the praying women with water. They were made the targets for eggs and stones, and as they would not desist from prayer against the saloon, the mayor and the council undertook to stop them by enacting an ordinance forbidding sidewalk prayer. If they would pray, they must kneel in the street at least ten feet from the curb. That meant dust or mud in those days. Carthage must have been a "wet" town, but indignant citizens forced a repeal of that particular ordinance within twenty-four hours.

The story of New Vienna is the story of John Calvin Van Pelt, who was destined to play so important a part in the history of the movement in Ohio. Near the depot of the town was a forbidding-looking one-story structure, appropriately known as the "Dead Fall" and presided over by Van Pelt, a tall, solidly-built man, with a red nose and the head of a prize-fighter.

The praying band was formed in the usual way, and after visiting the drug stores, the women directed their steps toward the "Dead Fall." Van Pelt seemed infuriated. He threatened that if they came to his saloon again, he would hang, draw and quarter them. The next day, one of his windows was decorated with flasks filled with whiskey. Across the other was an axe, covered

with blood. Over the door were suspended empty flasks, and near them a large jug, branded "Brady's Family Bitters." Over all floated a black flag. As if this array were not sufficiently dramatic, he could be seen within, brandishing a club, and defying the temperance band to enter at the risk of their lives.

But even these bloodthirsty demonstrations had no effect upon the women. Next day, about fifty in number, they entered his saloon, and began their usual devotions. About two hundred men were outside, expecting some attempt at violence. A woman was praying that the heart of the saloon-keeper might be baptized with the Holy Ghost, when Van Pelt seized a bucket of dirty water.

With an oath, he cried, "I'll baptize you!" And with this he threw the contents against the ceiling overhead, from which it came pouring down upon the kneeling women. They stood, however, heroically to their post, and it was not until drenched with dirty slops and beer that they retreated to the outside.

The crowd surrounding the place was enraged, and was prevented from mobbing the ruffian only by the intercession of the women. Inhuman as he was, the women had faith to believe they could conquer him without violence, or even law. But the fathers and husbands of those insulted were not so tender in their sentiments, and Van Pelt was arrested and sent to jail. There he languished for several days, unable to find bail. He was

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finally released from the calaboose. His week's imprisonment seemed only to have made him the more bitter and determined. He had the boldness to attend the meetings in the Friends' Meeting House and argue the case publicly.

Van Pelt's next step, however, proved his indisputable claim to the title of "the wickedest man in Ohio." When the women called at his saloon, as usual, he met them at the door, and told them they might come in and pray on one condition. That was that they allow him to make every other prayer. In amazement the women agreed, and the farce began. After the first prayer, Van Pelt began a long and blasphemous harangue in the form of a prayer. He asked the Lord "to have mercy on the women," whom he classed with the brutes, and "to teach them wisdom and understanding." "Women," he said, "first caused man to sin, and there is great need for prayer in their behalf." He said the Lord operated the first distillery; or, at least, made the first wine, and he (Van Pelt) was but following the Lord's example, etc., etc.

Before the services were ended he had made three long prayers of this description. The women were almost speechless with astonishment, half expecting that the hardened wretch would be struck dumb on the spot. But this was only the darkness before day. One week from that time Van Pelt had surrendered, and, like Saul of Tarsus, took up the cause he had fought so long.

The day before the surrender was dark and driz-

zling. All day long the women stood guard before the door. A determination was evinced to fight it out on the line already begun. Next morning they met promptly at eight o'clock, and proceeded to the "Dead Fall." Van Pelt met them at the door, and told them if they would go away and come again at two o'clock, he would give them his final decision. It was noised abroad that Van Pelt was going to surrender. At noon the bells were set to ringing, and boys went through the streets with hand-bells, crying, "Everybody meet at Van Pelt's saloon at two o'clock, and hear his decision! "

After the singing and prayer by the women, Van Pelt came to the door, and in a few remarks full of feeling, made a complete surrender of his stock and fixtures to the cause. He said he yielded not to law or force, but to the labours of love of the women. He then requested Rev. D. Hill and Rev. H. H. Whitter to roll out the barrels of liquor. Van Pelt then seized an axe, and stepping forward, held it up, crying, "This is the same weapon I used to terrify the ladies. I now use it to sacrifice that which I fear has ruined many souls." So saying, he stove in the heads of the barrels, and the liquor gurgled out into the gutters. Prayer was offered, a hymn sung, and Van Pelt made a few more remarks, concluding, "Ladies, I now promise you never to sell or drink another drop of whiskey as long as I live, and also promise to work with you in the cause with as much zeal as I have worked against you." He also remarked that he hoped

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the women of the United States would never cease until every drop of whiskey was emptied upon the ground as his was.

In the evening a thanksgiving meeting was held in the Christian Church, and Van Pelt spoke. He was humble in his manner, and made a good impression on the audience. He said that he had felt for some days, deep convictions that he was doing a mean business, but had used every argument he could to sustain himself; it was not their arguments, but their prayers and suffering that had touched his heart. No man or set of men would suffer and endure what the ladies had endured in this work. He referred to his saloon as a low doggery, saying, "Yes, I'll call it a low doggery, for no man can keep a high one."

He was now determined to quit this business forever and to throw his strength on the other side of the question. In another week Van Pelt was in the field as a temperance lecturer! His speeches, as he toured the state with Dr. Dio Lewis, carried conviction and testified to the power of God to answer prayer.

These were only some of the experiences of the devoted women who shared in the great movement.

The Crusade lasted in all about four months. In some communities the women went out every day in snow and sleet, in sunshine and rain, always happy, always about their Master's business. They sang the old songs until they were called by their opponents "The Rock-of-Ages Women."

They were undaunted by ill treatment and unswerved in their purpose by difficulties.

When active crusading stopped, there were places where Crusade prayer-meetings were held weekly for years. I count that my own first inspiration for temperance work was from these Crusade prayer-meetings, held years after the initial Crusade had ended.

After the conflagration, what? There had been aroused in the women of the nation an intensified conviction that the saloon, which was supported by law, was an enemy of the home. They had seen saloons closed as the result of prayer, but they had seen them opened again by sanction of the law. Many communities caught the spirit of the Crusade, even though their women did not actually go into the saloons to pray. In New York City and Brooklyn, women met for prayer every day. Frances Willard read about the Crusade and caught its spirit. She was a busy teacher and could not leave her work; but one day this thought came to her: "Why not help, just where I am?" Whereupon she began, as did many another woman—just where she was!

What was the import and significance of this great movement? Simply this: the awakening of women to demand protection for the home. It was marked by deep religious conviction. It began in the closet, it was carried to the vestry of the church, and crowned in the saloon. It was the united effort of the women of all the churches.

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It broke down denominational lines. It aroused women to their civic responsibility, and there is no question but that this awakened womanhood created an increased demand for the ballot. The Crusade was ably supported by Christian men in an age when there was much opposition to women engaging in public work.

No one can explain how it came about that the Crusade fire started in more than a hundred places—some of them widely separated—except by a realization of the fact that when God's time has come, He leads the way. The Crusade was one of the religious marvels of the nineteenth century; it was a hearkening to the voice of God which came to the women of America, as it did to the women of ancient Israel: "Rise up, ye women that are at ease; hear My voice, ye careless daughters; give ear unto My speech."

The historical material for this chapter has been taken from Mrs. Wittenmyer's "Story of the Crusade" and "Fifty Years of the Temperance Reform," ed. by J. E. Stebbins and T. A. H. Brown.

III

WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ORGANIZATIONS

ONE of the treasures in the museum of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union is a painted silk banner of the Ladies' Broadway Washingtonian Temperance Society, organized August 17, 1842. It took its general character and name from the famous Washingtonian Society, the pledge-signing organization of the forties, which had been organized by a few reformed drunkards in Baltimore, Maryland. Drunkenness was a tremendous burden to the nation at that time; scarcely a public house or a store that did not sell intoxicating liquor, scarcely a family without a drunkard.

Women suffered keenly under this situation, and yet the Ladies' Broadway Washingtonian Temperance Society was one of the very few organizations of women formed to combat the drink evil. Women did not go into work of that kind, and the pledge-signing movement was carried forward principally by men who had once been drinkers and had reformed. These women's organizations were known as the Daughters of Washington, but there was no attempt to unite them into state or national societies.

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The first organized temperance work was done by Susan B. Anthony, the pioneer suffragist, who began her public work in the interests of temperance. "All that is needed to produce a complete temperance and social reform," she told the Canajoharie Daughters of Temperance, "is for our sex to cast their united influences into the balance." This was in a day when practically all American men were as much opposed to moderation in drinking as some Americans are opposed to total abstinence now.

Against intemperance, especially in the younger generation and of course in the working classes, serious men had instituted a movement before her time. But from its management women, the worst sufferers from the evil, were excluded. This was partially because women were excluded from all men's organizations. The Sons of Temperance, a secret society, was organized in 1842. At first women were not admitted to membership and the women formed the Daughters of Temperance; their lodges, however, were entirely separate from those of the men.

Miss Anthony had put a good deal of vitality into the Daughters in Canajoharie and she organized many local lodges. She thoroughly believed the Sons and Daughters of Temperance should unite, but the brethren were slow to recognize women's work, and for several years they worked separately. Later there was no sex qualification for membership.

A state temperance convention was called in Albany in January, 1852, and an invitation extended to the women to send delegates. Miss Anthony was made a delegate from Rochester. The credentials of the women delegates were accepted and they were assigned seats. The business of the convention proceeded and when Miss Anthony rose to speak to a motion, the chairman refused her the floor saying the sisters had been asked there "not to speak but to listen and learn."

Indignant at this treatment Miss Anthony, followed by a few other women, left the hall. They called a public meeting in Hudson Street Presbyterian Church the following evening. As the result, a call was issued for a Woman's State Temperance Convention to be held at an early date. This was held in Rochester in April of 1852. The preliminary work was done by Miss Anthony. In attendance, enthusiasm, and achievement of its immediate object, the convention was a great success.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was elected president and Susan B. Anthony secretary. With zeal, executive ability, and consecration Miss Anthony assumed the duties of State Agent. There was no money; she must raise it on the field; she must organize, instruct, and weld the societies together. The rapid growth of the women's societies now attracted the attention of the men, who had changed their name to the Men's State Temperance Society. At their next state convention the

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local society again invited the women to send delegates.

When the women delegates arrived in Syracuse, they were met by one of the pastors, with the polite request that they withdraw, the reason being that most of the visiting delegates were clergymen, and they one and all objected to the presence of women. This request was refused. The convention opened stormily, the men delegates saying that no business could be transacted while "the females" were present. Miss Anthony again protested by organizing a women's meeting in another church and drew away the greater part of the audience.

A meeting of the Woman's State Temperance Society was held in Albany in 1852 to petition the Legislature to enact a Maine Prohibition Law. The Assembly Chamber was given up to a women's evening meeting, and one morning the rules were suspended in order that they might present personally their petition to the legislators. Twenty-eight thousand names were attached to the petition, but little regard was paid to it. One Assemblyman put it: "Who are these asking for the Maine law? Nobody but women and children." Their petition was not granted.

At the annual meeting in 1853, the women were earnestly urged to admit men to full membership. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were opposed to it but the name was changed to People's Temperance Society and women retired to the background as men were elected to most of the offices. The

organization lived only two years more. We find no further record of a state or national organization of women functioning again until 1874.

Women, however, had become active members in the Sons of Temperance, and had been admitted to membership in the Good Templars from their founding in 1851. Both of these organizations greatly prospered.

The forerunner of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was the Crusade, a religious movement, which though supported by the ministers and churchmen, was a woman's campaign. It was carried on, not by women who had been drinkers, but by Christian women, many of whom had suffered from the intemperance of others. When activity in visiting saloons abated, it was difficult sometimes to tell when the work changed from a committee to an organization fully equipped for a permanent work.

In the summer of 1874 the great Chautauqua movement was launched at a Sunday School Assembly at Chautauqua Lake by Lewis Miller and Dr. John H. Vincent, later Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Christian people interested in Sunday school work and Christian education, assembled there. Women's prayer-meetings were held every day; Crusaders who were present told their experiences and expressed their great concern because although saloons and bar-rooms had been closed, they were reopening, men who had signed the pledge had reverted to drink-

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ing and homes were still being menaced by the saloon. It was decided that the next step to be taken must be an organization of women, national in scope, to carry on a campaign of education and legislation.

The great meetings were held in a tent at Chautauqua, erected near the spot where the Colonnade now stands. It was on July 16 that Dr. Vincent read the notice which had been prepared by Mrs. Mattie McClellan Brown and was authorized by the women's prayer-meeting, calling for a convention of women to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, November 18, 19, and 20, 1874, to frame a national temperance organization of women, and to crystallize the work started in the Crusade. Crusade committees had become local women's temperance societies under various names, and state societies had been organized in nine states and there were scattering organizations in twelve other states.

In order to comprehend the importance of this meeting, it is necessary to recall the fact that women, in 1874, were unskilled in organization work. The Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1869, but many churches were still without local societies. The Women's Foreign Boards of the Presbyterian Church were organized in 1873; the Baptist Woman's Foreign Missionary Society had not yet perfected its organization. Other Mission Boards had not, as yet, been organized into national bodies. There were a few women's clubs, but the

General Federation was not organized until twenty years later. The National Women's Home Missionary Societies began to be organized in 1875.

The Suffragists, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, were strong in spirit but not in numbers. Church unity was scarcely mentioned in those days; in fact, churches were denominational rivals, and Christian women had little opportunity for acquaintance outside the bounds of their own communion and their own community.

But here was a call for a convention of women from all the churches, to organize a Woman's Temperance Society, with the express understanding that it was to be officered and managed by women; and women had never undertaken any such thing before. It was not a special call for women who had been hurt by the saloon so much as it was a call for women who had felt the hurt done to the home through the saloon.

On November 18, 19, and 20, 1874, delegates and visitors met in the Second Presbyterian Church of Cleveland, Ohio. Seventeen states were represented. Many Crusaders were present and much time was spent in prayer. The organization was named the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, a constitution was adopted, and officers were elected. Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, who had had large experience in the Christian Commission and in establishing Light Diet Kitchens during the Civil War, and after the war in establishing Orphans' Homes, was chosen president, and Miss

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Frances E. Willard, who had resigned as Dean of Women in Northwestern University so as to give her whole time to the temperance cause, was elected corresponding secretary. The platform adopted included the following:

1. The reformation of the drunkard by the pledge of total abstinence, and faith in God;
2. The training of children in temperance truths, in juvenile societies, in Sunday schools and in the public schools;
3. The education of the people by the dissemination of literature, by the holding of public meetings, and through the press;
4. The union of efforts of all women for the extinction of intemperance;
5. The adoption of a pledge for women, which included abstinence for themselves, training for their children, and banishing alcohol in all its forms from the sideboard and the kitchen.
6. The request to physicians not to prescribe alcoholic liquors except in emergencies.
7. The adoption of the purpose as written by Miss Willard that "as our cause is and will be combated by mighty, determined, and relentless forces, we will, trusting in Him who is the Prince of Peace, meet argument with argument, misjudgment with patience, denunciation with kindness, and all our difficulties and dangers with prayer."

At the second convention held in Cincinnati, Ohio, we find the following resolution adopted:

“RESOLVED, That whereas the object of just government is to conserve the interests of the governed, and whereas the liquor traffic is not only a crime against God, but subversive of every interest of society, therefore in behalf of humanity, we call for such legislation as shall secure this end, and while we will continue to employ all moral agencies as indispensable we hold prohibition to be essential to the full triumph of this reform.”

It must be remembered that these women were without experience in public work, were without the ballot, and were *home* women. Yet, with a faith almost sublime, they announced to all the world that their ultimate goal was prohibition *by law*. I cannot find that this announcement was given much publicity, that the papers told the story in headlines five inches high, even if they had such type then, or that the saloon-keepers were very much alarmed. No one in those days feared the activities of women, yet it is a fact that, in less than fifty years from the time that group of women met in Cincinnati at its second meeting and declared they would work for the closing of the saloons by law, all the saloons in the United States *were* actually closed by law, through the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. Moreover, women were given the power to help to keep them closed, by the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment. Wondrously hath God wrought; to Him be the glory!

What was the initial step taken? Organization,

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which meant first, local unions, and then state unions. Public sentiment had been aroused by the Crusade, but the task of mobilizing that sentiment, of securing members who were willing to sign a pledge of total abstinence, of securing officers who were capable of bearing office (there was no specified time or specific place to train these, and it was a volunteer service), of providing organizers who would, and could go from place to place on this errand, was truly missionary and as truly herculean.

National conventions were held annually. Mrs. Wittenmyer served five years as president, and during that period twenty-five states were organized; the noontide prayer adopted; *Our Union*, the official organ, established; a department of literature created; the bow of white ribbon adopted as the official badge; and representation at the national convention put upon the dues-paying basis.

Frances E. Willard was corresponding secretary for three years and then as president of the Illinois W. C. T. U. continued to be a vital factor in the organization. She was elected president of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1879.

IV

EDUCATION AND ORGANIZATION

THE Crusade was inaugurated and carried on by the women of the churches. From their ranks the first local unions of the W. C. T. U. were organized. During the first five years of the organization the same women who were leaders in the missionary work of the churches were the leaders in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, for it took time to develop new women; and for forty years the history of woman's part in the temperance reform is largely the history of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

With the election of Frances E. Willard as president of the National W. C. T. U., the organization entered upon its second era. Miss Willard was an educator—an organizer. She had been a factor in the organization from the beginning. As first corresponding secretary she was familiar with conditions in the new state organizations; as president of the Illinois W. C. T. U. she had had practical experience in forming local societies and in the beginnings of the legislative work.

A careful study of the plans outlined for the first year shows progressive plans for organization, clear statements as to the need for women banding

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together for the work, outspoken declarations in regard to prohibition and the responsibility of women, and fearless recognition of the necessity of the ballot for women.

But it was necessary that this new society be guided in its work, and here, the master mind of Frances Willard had full play. Workers were secured and developed, standing committees changed to superintendents, and departments enlarged; for, as Miss Willard said, "Everything is not in the temperance reform, but the temperance reform is in everything."

For many years the word "temperance" suggested to most people only the reformation of the drunkard, for the early speakers had been reformed drunkards; but for Frances Willard and this young organization, it took on an entirely different meaning. Because the members were home women, it was natural they should begin *in* the home and with the children. As total abstinence was a foundation principle, they supported pledge-signing movements, and were active in their efforts to win moderate drinkers, as well as hard drinkers. In public meetings, in literature and the official organ, the thought was emphasized that the only means of safety from the drink habit was to be found in total abstinence because alcohol was poison whether found in beer, cider, wine, or distilled liquor.

The work among the children was, and is, three-fold—in the Juvenile Society (later called the Loyal Temperance Legion), in the Sunday school,

and in the public school. In the Loyal Temperance Legion boys and girls were enrolled and, after careful explanation had been given them, encouraged to sign the pledge. The following pledge, which Miss Willard wrote, was the one best liked by the children:

*"I promise not to buy, sell or give
Alcoholic liquors while I live;
From all tobacco I'll abstain
And never take God's name in vain."*

Their meetings were held weekly and pledged members only were eligible to hold office. They sang temperance songs, and their slogan was "Tremble, King Alcohol, we shall grow up!" Thousands of children were enrolled in the Loyal Temperance Legions in the early days of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, with the result that these children were grown men and women when the great struggle for National Prohibition was inaugurated.

The next step was an appeal to the International Sunday School Committee for the outlining and designating of a temperance lesson once a quarter in order that the children of the Church might be taught total abstinence as a part of Christian living. This request was granted in 1884; and all around the world, wherever the International Lessons are used in Sunday schools, this lesson has been taught as a part of the regular course.

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But in order to reach all the children of the country it was necessary to reach the children of the public schools; and God had prepared the woman to lead in this work. Mrs. Mary H. Hunt was appointed superintendent of Scientific Temperance Instruction in 1880. Mrs. Hunt had specialized in physiology and natural science in college and as a teacher. She had a deep conviction that "The star of hope of the temperance reform hung over the schoolhouse." The schools were under the direction of state legislatures, which prescribed the qualifications of teachers, and outlined the subjects to be taught. Hence, backed by national and state organizations, Mrs. Hunt inaugurated a campaign to secure legislation such as would make the teaching of physiology and hygiene, with special reference to the effects of alcohol and other narcotics on the human system, compulsory in all grades of the public schools. Vermont and Connecticut adopted the law in 1882, and New York in 1884. State after state followed. In 1886, Congress passed its first temperance measure. It was a bill to require such teaching in all government-controlled schools. These included West Point, Annapolis, all Indian schools, and all schools in the District of Columbia.

The agitation for state scientific instruction laws continued until, in 1902, Mrs. Hunt was able to report that such instruction was provided for, and made compulsory, in every state. While Mrs. Hunt was the General in command of this work,

it could not have been accomplished without the help of the army of devoted white ribboners who stood behind this effort to safeguard the home by giving the facts about alcohol to the boys and girls of the whole United States.

Other forms of education were adopted and carried on through departments. William Jennings Demorest, an ardent Prohibitionist, had inaugurated medal contests as a means of educating young people in prohibition principles. The plan included the awarding of silver, gold, and diamond medals as prizes for recitations which had to be selected from books prepared for that purpose. The department was adopted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1887, and after Mr. Demorest's death, this work was taken over by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. More than one hundred and fifty thousand contests, in which nearly a million young people have taken part, have been held. The plan was enlarged, and many trained speakers have been developed from these contests. Several state presidents of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union are proud to be among the winners of diamond medals.

The progress of legislation is an interesting study. New York passed a bill to prohibit the sale of liquor on fair-grounds. Several state legislatures passed bills raising the "age of consent" for girls, from twelve and fourteen years, to sixteen and eighteen years. In the District of Columbia

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the age was ten years, and by action of Congress was raised to sixteen. All of this was chiefly through the work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union—another of its efforts to safeguard the home.

In 1892 an attempt was made to introduce the English barmaid system into the United States. A bill was introduced in the New York Legislature to permit women to serve in this capacity, and a dozen English barmaids were started on their way across the Atlantic. Mrs. Mary T. Burt, then president of New York State Woman's Christian Temperance Union, heard about it, went to Albany, and made such an earnest plea against the bill that it was defeated, and the English barmaids were compelled to return to the country from which they came.

In the campaign against the Army canteen, the united efforts of the women in every state, of representatives of the churches, and of other temperance organizations, were enlisted. The Army canteen was the government store located in camps and forts. A non-commissioned officer was in charge, and men were detailed as bartenders to sell beer and wine to soldiers who were allowed to pay in canteen checks collectible on pay-day. This, of course, was a form of government control. When the plan was adopted in 1889, it attracted little attention but it gained headway during the Spanish-American War. Mothers were willing to give their boys to be soldiers, but they were not willing that

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they should become bartenders, even at the command of the United States Government. Huge petitions were presented to the government, not only by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union but by the churches, with the result that in 1901 legislation was enacted by Congress, prohibiting the sale of wine and beer in the Army canteen.

Slowly but surely, like a mighty glacier, the temperance program advanced. In 1903, the sale of liquor in the restaurants of the Senate and the House was prohibited. The sale of liquor at ports of entry and immigration stations was prohibited in the same legislation. Ellis Island is the largest of our ports of entry. There, beer and wine had been freely sold, and many a time when visiting there, I have seen mothers giving their babies beer, though they could have procured milk, had they wanted it.

In the meantime the work of organization was being promoted throughout the entire country. Nine states were organized before the meeting of the first national convention. In the two months following, Iowa, New Hampshire, and New Jersey women formed state unions. In 1875, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Maine, Maryland, and Nebraska were added to the list. Within the next three years Delaware, Minnesota, Kansas, the District of Columbia, and Southern California had been added, so that when Miss Willard assumed the responsibility of leadership in 1879 there were twenty-three state unions officered by women and

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composed of local unions in villages, towns and cities.

Frances Willard had the vision that every state should be organized, and in company with Miss Anna A. Gordon, her friend, she toured the whole country. They left in their trail newly organized state unions in the west and the south, for Miss Willard knew no east, no west, no north, no south. They encountered many difficulties: prejudice against women in public work, scars from the great conflict of 1861-'65, bad travel conditions due to lack of railroads, pioneering in the west, and sometimes inability to secure good accommodations for lodging and food; but with wonderful spirit and with wonderful courage these two women aroused the womanhood all over the country. In 1882-'83 they visited every city in the United States with a population of over ten thousand. Real home missionaries they were; real evangels of home protection; real women, as in a womanly way they showed that in the warfare for home protection was woman's opportunity to organize and to educate.

But it was not in organizing alone that Miss Willard showed her great ability. Very shortly after her election, standing committees in department work were changed to superintendents. This meant an expert at the head of the ever-expanding work. In her DO EVERYTHING policy Miss Willard visioned enlisting women identified in other reforms in the great warfare for home protection.

Departments had been forecast even in Crusade

days: evangelistic work, with its message that the power of God could heal the appetite of the drinker; work in prisons and jails, where were held so many men and boys who were the victims of drink; work among young women who were responsible for many social customs and set the standards for social living; work among foreigners who brought with them from other lands drinking habits and customs and needed to know the curse of the liquor traffic. The departments of work were grouped under six general heads—Organization; Preventive; Evangelistic; Educational; Legal and Social. 11

Miss Willard had the great gift of finding women and incorporating their special work into that of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Flower Mission Work did not seem very closely identified with a temperance organization, yet Jennie Cassidy, on her bed of pain in Louisville, Kentucky, knew that flowers had a mission to the sick and dying, that flowers had a mission to the sin-sick as well; and Flower Mission work was ingrafted into the work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Flowers found a place on the platforms of W. C. T. U. meetings and now flowers are so generally used in churches and at public meetings that many people have forgotten that Flower Mission Work was one of the early departments.

Women's organizations knew little about parliamentary law and yet the Woman's Christian Temperance Union early had a department of Parlia-

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mentary Law and these women's organizations, which began in a prayer-meeting, speedily became orderly in their methods of conducting business because Frances Willard recognized that if a great reform was to be carried to victory, the women who did the work must know how to transact business in a parliamentary way. And according to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, this pioneer work set an example for other women's organizations.

Scientific Temperance Instruction in the public schools was a woman's movement, but even that great campaign could not have been carried on had it not been that there was an organization of women by that time in every state ready to stand back of the legislation that was enacted by lawmakers, but that must be carried out through the public schools of the land.

Perhaps the story of no department is more interesting than the department of Medical Temperance. At the time of the Crusade, drug stores were selling liquor not only on prescription of physicians but to any one who wanted to buy, and physicians prescribed liquor as a remedy for almost every disease. Because alcohol is a habit-forming drug, it was recognized as a source of drunkenness. The department as first contemplated, urged drug-gists to sell liquor only on prescription of physicians. Then emphasis was placed on asking physicians to prescribe alcoholics only when absolutely necessary. Later the American Medical Association passed the following resolution:

" WHEREAS, we believe that the use of alcohol as a beverage is detrimental to the human economy; and

" WHEREAS, its use in therapeutics as a tonic, or a stimulant, or as a food, has no scientific basis; therefore be it

" RESOLVED, that the American Medical Association opposes the use of alcohol as a beverage; and be it further

" RESOLVED, that the use of alcohol as a therapeutic agent should be discouraged."

Mrs. Martha M. Allen of New York had a great vision of this department. She realized that not only was there danger in the home prescription of alcoholic liquors for medicine, not only was there danger in their careless prescription by physicians, but there was danger in the patent medicines which were on sale everywhere. Many of them contained large percentages of alcohol. Some were whiskey and wine flavoured with a drug. It was Mrs. Allen, in coöperation with Boards of Health, who had a great number of patent medicines analyzed and who published the percentages of alcohol. This was a revelation to the public. Home remedies prescribed by mothers were discovered to contain from twenty to fifty per cent of alcohol. So much attention was attracted to this disclosure that *Collier's Weekly* and the *Ladies' Home Journal* were enlisted. They gave publicity to these facts, and finally a bill was introduced in the Congress of the United States requiring that the ingredients of patent medicines with their alcoholic content be

printed upon the labels of all proprietary medicines.

When you see on the outside of any proprietary medicine its percentage of alcohol, opium, and morphine, do not forget that it was through the instrumentality of women, organized for home protection, that such listing is required. The alcohol in a patent medicine is the same alcohol that is in whiskey, brandy, rum, or gin.

When National Prohibition was enacted, provision was made for the sale of alcoholic liquors for medicinal purposes. Twenty-two states forbid by their state laws any sale of alcohol for medicinal purposes. In the remaining states, however, permits are issued to physicians, one hundred each quarter. These permits must be filled out with the name of the person for whom prescribed, the amount, which is limited to one-half pint in ten days, and the disease for which the prescription is the remedy. By the adoption of the Willis-Campbell Law, beer may not be prescribed as a medicine. These regulations were made necessary because the same carelessness and defiance of law that characterized medical practice in the days of the Crusade still prevailed. It is interesting to note, however, that there is a great decrease in the amount of liquor used for medicine and that only half the registered physicians in the twenty-six states where the sale of alcoholics for medicinal purposes is legalized, take the trouble to supply themselves with permits.

In the beginning not all the members of the

Woman's Christian Temperance Union favoured woman suffrage; in fact, it was the first question upon which there was a difference of opinion. Frances Willard thoroughly believed that women should have the ballot. Others, devoted workers, believed that the temperance question should be kept entirely distinct from the suffrage question and at one of the early conventions the motion was actually adopted requesting the editors of *Our Union*, the official organ, to confine the paper to a discussion of temperance alone. Later, however, after the election of Frances Willard, this was changed; and while the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has always majored in temperance work, the Suffrage Department, adopted in 1879, did much to crystallize the sentiment of the women of the churches for equal rights, and to educate them in the responsibilities of citizenship so that they were ready to vote when suffrage came.

It would not be possible to recount in detail all department lines. Perhaps they are best outlined in the following Declaration of Principles which was formulated by Frances Willard and adopted by the National W. C. T. U. in 1874:

We believe in the coming of His Kingdom whose service is perfect freedom, because His laws, written in our members as well as in nature and in grace, are perfect, converting the soul.

We believe in the gospel of the Golden Rule, and that each man's habits of life should be an example safe and beneficent for every other man to follow.

We believe that God created both man and woman in His own image, and therefore we believe in one standard of purity for both men and women, and in the equal right of all to hold opinions and to express the same with equal freedom.

We believe in a living wage; in an eight-hour day; in courts of conciliation and arbitration; in justice as opposed to greed and gain; and in "peace on earth and good will to men."

We therefore formulate, and for ourselves adopt the following pledge, asking our sisters and brothers of a common danger and a common hope, to make common cause with us, in working its reasonable and helpful precepts into the practice of everyday life:

I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from all distilled, fermented and malt liquors, including wine, beer and cider, and to employ all proper means to discourage the use of and traffic in the same.

To confirm and enforce the rationale of this pledge, we declare our purpose to educate the young; to form a better public sentiment; to reform, so far as possible, by religious, ethical and scientific means, the drinking classes; to seek the transforming power of Divine grace for ourselves and all for whom we work, that they and we may willfully transcend no law of pure and wholesome living, and finally we pledge ourselves to labour and to pray that all these principles, founded upon the gospel of Christ, may be worked out into the customs of society and the laws of the land.

The DO EVERYTHING policy as outlined in the statement of principles was misunderstood by some. It was said that it scattered rather than concen-

trated the work of this organization of women which was increasing in membership. The critics were mistaken and I can best illustrate the relation of the department work by the following:

In 1888 Prohibition Park was opened on Staten Island. At that time there were fourteen large breweries on the island and the shore front was dotted with saloons. The new park provided in all its deeds that no liquor could ever be sold on the property. A notable company decided to make the Park, later known as Westerleigh, their home because this provision was a protection.

In order to make possible the holding of large public meetings the first summer, a great tent 120x80 feet was erected. I was not at home when the tent was erected and inquired how they did it. The reply was, "Do you see those two center poles and those rings and hooks? Well, they placed the rings on the center poles and fastened the hooks to them. Then to each one was attached a rope. Ten men held the ropes and when the order was given 'Everybody pull!' the tent went up in place, the ropes were fastened, and it stood."

Prohibition is like a great tent. The women of the country wanted it to extend all over the nation. There were ropes attached to the tent: these were the forty departments of work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Every woman was urged to get hold of a rope: one interested in Evangelistic work pulled on the Evangelistic rope, another helped with the children in the Loyal Tem-

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perance Legion, in the Sunday schools or in Scientific Temperance Instruction in the public schools. Still another promoted thrift and showed the wasted resources through the liquor traffic; another promoted child welfare through mothers' meetings; another worked with foreigners; still others in jails and prisons; among soldiers and sailors; among railroad men; and through every available avenue. When the call came "Everybody pull!" the women were ready and every department of work made its contribution to the winning of National Prohibition.

So the DO EVERYTHING policy enlisted workers, gave direction to prohibition efforts from many angles, and all departments converged in efforts to make sentiment for prohibition.

V

FINDING THE BEST METHOD

FROM 1874 to 1920 many methods of dealing with the liquor traffic had been tried. Immediately following the Crusade there was inaugurated a pledge-signing campaign; in fact, it began in connection therewith and was continued. Most of the speakers were reformed men, some of whom had been converted during the Crusade. These two distinct movements, one the Red Ribbon movement, led by Dr. Henry Reynolds, and the other the Blue Ribbon movement, led by Francis E. Murphy, swept the country. Thousands signed the pledge but many of those who had been hard drinkers soon succumbed to the attractions of the saloon and barroom and their last estate was as bad as the first. The newly organized women's temperance societies were active in promoting this pledge-signing; some of them, as in Brooklyn, New York, and Chicago, holding meetings twice a day and others every day.

Next came the agitation against the license system which took the form of No-License campaigns. These were local and restricted to towns. In all of them the women took an active part although they could not vote. When a town voted No-

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License, the saloons and barrooms could not carry on business for a year in that town. The next town was often a license town; result—violation of the law, great dissatisfaction and the town usually voted for license the following year. There were some towns in which a liquor license has never been granted. The campaigns were, however, highly educational and fixed personal responsibility.

Then High License was proposed, and some of the temperance leaders were deceived by the claim that if the license were made high enough so many of the drinking places would be closed that the evils of drink would be lessened. This experiment proved a failure. The organized women never endorsed High License.

The Dispensary System was inaugurated in South Carolina and was hailed as the solution of the problem. This was state control of the sale of intoxicating liquors. After a thorough trial it was found to be a failure. Under its régime "blind tigers" flourished, the number of dispensaries increased, and drunkenness prevailed. There developed political corruption which formed a complete network of office-holders engaged in a debauching traffic. When the question of state prohibition was finally submitted to the voters of South Carolina in 1915, the Dispensary System was supported by only 29 per cent of the voters, while 71 per cent voted for prohibition; and South Carolina was the fourth state to ratify the Eight-

eenth Amendment. South Dakota, too, tried the Dispensary System after state-wide prohibition was repealed in 1896. It was only in operation for two years and was so unsatisfactory that it was repealed by a decisive majority.

Organized women held steadfastly to the foundation principle that the traffic in intoxicating liquors is intrinsically wrong and that it cannot be legalized without sin.

The Prohibition Party was organized in 1869. It was composed of stalwart men who were convinced that prohibition was the only solution of the problem of the liquor traffic. At the convention of 1872 it declared for woman suffrage and was the first political party to so declare.

In 1883, the national convention of the W. C. T. U. voted to present to all the political parties a memorial for protection of the American Home against the saloon. Miss Willard was commissioned to present it. She was received coldly by the Republican convention, denied a hearing at the Democratic convention, and neither party adopted a prohibition plank. The Democratic Party, however, did declare against sumptuary laws.

At the Prohibition Party convention held in 1874, Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, president of the Ohio W. C. T. U., was named as one of the secretaries, the first instance on record of a woman being elected an officer in a party convention. Miss Willard presented the same memorial which she had been authorized to present at all party con-

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ventions. It was received with enthusiasm and the five general officers of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union were included in the vice-presidents of the party. Miss Willard seconded the nomination of Governor John P. St. John with a speech of marvelous power. This clearly put the Woman's Christian Temperance Union on record as favouring at that time the only political party declaring for home protection.

Prohibition sentiment was increasing and there is no doubt that the propaganda of a woman's organization which was increasing its membership and the number of its local unions, supplemented the efforts of the men who were promoting a political party.

In 1887 Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire introduced a prohibition amendment in the United States Senate. Miss Willard was one of his advisers and one of the promoters of the plan. The time was not yet ripe for national prohibition but the seed had been planted.

Miss Willard's annual addresses at national conventions were masterpieces in their presentation of prohibition as the solution of the drink problem. As the dominant political parties continued to ignore prohibition she continued her support of the Prohibition Party, as did most of the leaders in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the national, state, and local unions. The support of the Prohibition Party was never made a condition of membership but it was plain to everybody that

prohibition was the goal, and the educational work to this end was promoted by the departments.

In the meantime the W. C. T. U. gained in strength, in members, and in the broad conception of the work to be done to make prohibition possible.

With the founding of the Anti-Saloon League in 1893, more and more the emphasis was placed on local option with the town and later the county as the unit. In every campaign women took an active part, canvassing communities for votes, holding public meetings and distributing literature. These campaigns were used to educate the public as to the character of the saloon, the baneful influence of the now fully organized liquor traffic, and to the fact that it was the licensing of the saloon which gave it legal standing.

These local campaigns, and later the campaigns for state-wide prohibition, stressed the importance of all Dry voters combining against the liquor traffic, irrespective of party affiliations.

For many years Maine, Kansas, and North Dakota were the only prohibition states.

In 1905 Mrs. Mary Harris Armor was called to the presidency of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Georgia. She was a home woman, busy on a farm, but she possessed a holy zeal and she accepted the position with a strong conviction that "Georgia must be Dry." No story of the winning of the fight in the Empire State of the South is complete that does not tell what the

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women of Georgia did in that campaign under her leadership. True, there were good men in the fight and the story of what they did has often been told, but here was a new element. Cultured southern women, led by one of their own, with no money for a campaign, with no headquarters except the dining-room of Mrs. Armor's home, kept repeating in speech, leaflet, prayer, song, and through personal appeals, "Georgia must be Dry," and the men of Georgia answered by passing a prohibition law by legislative enactment. The fight showed Mrs. Armor's ability, heretofore undiscovered, and as a result she has taken part in every state-wide campaign since, and even crossed the Pacific and the Atlantic to give to campaigns in other lands inspiration and help.

But what did the women of the United States do that made their work a valuable contribution to state-wide and nation-wide campaigns? First, they promoted local organizations. They held regular meetings, at all of which prayer was offered for Divine guidance. They carried on a campaign of education through public meetings, the distribution of literature, and the training of the children, and their work was worth while for a college professor said to me not long ago: "The children of this community are suffering for temperance and purity teaching because there is no Woman's Christian Temperance Union in this town."

They supported the temperance forces in every

campaign against drink, no matter what its nature.

They rendered personal volunteer service in such campaigns, securing signatures to petitions, serving dinners on election day, etc.

They visited voters and appealed to them to vote for temperance. In Malone, a town in Northern New York, a no-license campaign was on. The leading milkman of the town was a candidate for Excise Commissioner on the license ticket. A committee of women called upon him, asking him to withdraw. He refused and his "This is a free country and I can run on a license ticket if I want to" resulted in a conference being held and the women of the community announcing, "This is a free country; we can buy milk where we please; we will not purchase milk of any man who runs for office on a license ticket." Three days afterward the man withdrew his name.

The campaign in every state was signalized by dramatic appeals from women, sometimes resulting in the changing of a single vote, but that vote spelled victory.

After Georgia, a procession of states followed in the prohibition column. By 1909 eight states were lined up. They were: Oklahoma, Tennessee, Maine, Kansas, North Dakota, Georgia, Mississippi, and North Carolina. The liquor people became alarmed and by a sudden overturning of politics in Maine, the state legislature voted to repeal its prohibition amendment. At first this

was thought to mean little danger to prohibition, for even if the prohibitory amendment were repealed, Maine still had the original prohibition law, but it was a woman again who came to the rescue.

Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens who had been president of the Maine W. C. T. U. since 1877, and president of the National W. C. T. U. since 1898, saw the danger. She knew that with the amendment out of the way, any state legislature could repeal statutory prohibition. She sounded the alarm. Meetings were held all over the state. Speakers from other states gave volunteer service. Meetings were held in churches, in halls, on street corners, wherever groups of people could be assembled. The children were organized by Miss Anna A. Gordon into bands of Young Campaigners for Prohibition. Maine had had prohibition since 1853. Two generations had grown up since the saloons were outlawed. The people had to be told that the liquor traffic violated license laws just as it violated prohibition laws; that the legalized saloon was a source of degeneracy; that it could not thrive without making drunkards out of boys; that the repeal of the amendment meant an easy way to repeal the prohibition law. Maine held her law, even though ballotless women led the fight.

On September 10, 1911, the night before the election, no one knew what the result would be. After a spirited address by Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson, Mrs. Stevens read the following proclamation:

“Whereas, modern science has definitely established for all time that alcohol is a toxin, the worst product of the ferment germ; a poison to every living tissue, destructive and degenerating to the human organism, striking at the health, character, and life of the individual, blasting the lives of children unborn, and undermining the integrity of the family;

“Whereas, ‘Wine is a mocker,’ and the maintenance of alcoholic beverages in the channels of trade always causes their widespread use among the people, entailing incalculable economic loss in productiveness and heavy burden of taxation; turning out multitudes of slaves and solons of drink; lowering in an appalling degree the average standard of character of citizenship, upon which the nation’s institutions and liberties must rest; bringing about the untimely death of many thousands of citizens, exceeding in numbers all those destroyed by war, pestilence, fire, flood and famine combined;

“Whereas, this terrible disease has been running for long centuries, and is now gnawing at the vitals of the nations and civilizations of to-day, gripping the governments of the world, and is interwoven into the political, commercial and social life of the peoples, constituting thus the deepest seated, most chronic organic disease known to the body politic and body social;

“Whereas, such a disease for a permanent cure requires of necessity deep, continued organic treatment for the whole body, for which partial superficial devices like legalization and local regulation have always proved and from their own nature must always prove utterly inadequate;

“Therefore, in the name of the World’s and National Woman’s Christian Temperance Union,

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we hereby make this Proclamation for a Great Crusade to carry the vital truth to the peoples themselves in all lands, and through them to place prohibition in the organic law of all nations and ultimately in the organic law of the world, and to this high end, we invoke the blessing and guidance of Almighty God and the coöperation of the men and women of all lands who love their fellow-men, and

“To America, the birthplace of the local, State, National, and World’s Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, we hereby proclaim, amid the smoke of the second great battle of Maine, in the home of Neal Dow and in the state which longer than any other has had a Prohibitory Law, that within a decade, prohibition shall be placed in the Constitution of the United States; and to this end we call to active coöperation all temperance, prohibition, religious and philanthropic bodies; all patriotic, fraternal, civic associations and all Americans who love their country! ”

Maine had held fast, but the result of the election was not decided for several weeks. During these days of uncertainty, wide publicity was given to the proclamation and at the National W. C. T. U. Convention in November a program of education toward National Constitutional Prohibition was adopted.

Captain Hobson introduced a resolution in Congress in December, 1911, to provide for a prohibition amendment but it was not acted upon.

In July, 1911, the great World’s Convention of the Young People’s Society of Christian Endeavour

met in Atlantic City. In the course of an address, Dr. Ira S. Landrith said he hoped when we welcomed the nations of the world to the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers that we would welcome them to a saloonless nation. The young people began talking about "A saloonless nation in 1920." Mrs. Stevens' proclamation was in line with this idea. Prof. J. G. Dailey, of Philadelphia, a gifted singer and song-writer, was inspired to write a song with the title "A Saloonless Nation in 1920." It was set to dignified but catchy music and was sung at all public meetings, local, state, and national, under the auspices of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and many who sang it had no idea they were singing a prophecy which was to be fulfilled even to the year.

In the meantime prohibition sentiment was gaining. In October 1913, at the National W. C. T. U. convention in Asbury Park, campaign plans for National Prohibition were formulated as a major form of activity for the coming year. Early in November the Anti-Saloon League, which had been organized in 1893, and had up to this time worked through the churches for local option and state-wide prohibition, held a great meeting in Columbus, Ohio, at which they declared in favour of an amendment to the Federal Constitution to prohibit the sale of liquors for beverage purposes.

The next step was a meeting of men and women in Washington on December 7, 1913. The men

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were called by the Anti-Saloon League, the women by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The call had been for a thousand, but five thousand came. The men assembled at Hotel Raleigh. They marched through the streets of Washington carrying a banner inscribed NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION and were joined at the Hotel Driscoll by the women, led by Mrs. Stevens, Miss Gordon, and the other national officers. Side by side the men and women marched to the Capitol, all wearing white satin badges with the same inscription as the banner. At the entrance to the Capitol grounds the banner was left behind, as no banners may be carried inside. The procession marched to the east steps of the Capitol, and there in the shadow of the sculpture depicting an Indian protecting a mother and her child, the petition was voiced to Senator Sheppard and Representative Hobson of the Senate and the House, asking for the submission of an amendment to the Federal Constitution to prohibit the beverage traffic in intoxicating liquors. Dr. Purley Baker introduced Ernest F. Cherrington and Governor Malcolm D. Patterson of Tennessee, as speakers for the Anti-Saloon League; and Mrs. Stevens introduced Mrs. Mary Harris Armor and Mrs. Ella A. Boole, as speakers for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. After the services on the steps, the meeting adjourned and some went to the Senate and others to the House and heard the resolutions submitting the amendment introduced

by Senator Sheppard and Mr. Hobson. The resolutions were referred to the proper committees, but no further action was taken in that session of Congress.

The campaign, however, went on. After the death of Mrs. Stevens in 1915, the work continued under the leadership of Miss Anna A. Gordon who had succeeded her as president. All the time the temperance forces, led by the women, continued to sing "A Saloonless Nation in 1920" and Mrs. Frances W. Graham sang "Victory" at national conventions.

Captain Hobson had reintroduced his bill in the Sixty-third Congress and, through the adoption of a special rule presented by the Rules Committee, it came up as a special order on December 22, 1914. All the temperance organizations were solidly behind the bill and all were represented in the great crowd that filled the galleries. The debate lasted from half-past ten in the morning until eleven at night without adjournment. One hundred and five speeches were made that day, the time being equally divided between those who favoured the bill and those who opposed it. Captain Hobson as the introducer of the bill, made the closing speech. The interest was intense.

We call attention to the fact that all the Members of Congress were men, for this was before Woman's Suffrage had been adopted; we call attention to the fact that no woman's voice was heard, for although there were many in the gallery the

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presiding officer would not permit of applause. We sat with tally sheets in hand and awaited anxiously the result. The vote showed a majority, but eight short of the necessary two-thirds for submission. The bill was introduced in the Sixty-fourth Congress by Senator Sheppard of Texas and in the House by Representative Webb. After consideration by the Judiciary Committee it was again brought to the floor of the House.

The next dramatic feature in the campaign was on December 17, 1917. Again Congress was called to order at 10:30 in the morning. Again there was ample time given for debate, which closed about seven in the evening without a recess. Sixty-five speeches were made. Again the gallery was filled with the friends of the temperance reform and some of the opponents. Congressman Webb of North Carolina opened the discussion by exhibiting a poster bearing the sentiment of the leaders of labour organizations commending and endorsing prohibition. Again we were breathless as the roll was called and again we watched our tally sheets. It was a dramatic moment when ex-Speaker Cannon, who had not responded to his name when called by the clerk, rose just before the vote was announced and asked that his name be called again. This was done and Mr. Cannon responded "Aye" most heartily. The result showed two hundred and eighty-two in favour and one hundred and twenty-eight against—eight more than the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Senate voted the following day without the formality of a roll call and by a rising vote which showed forty-seven in favour to eight against.

This resolution, passed by a two-thirds vote of both branches of Congress, was submitted to the states with the proviso that it must be ratified within seven years and would become operative one year after the date of its ratification by the thirty-sixth state.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, the Reform Bureau, and other temperance organizations immediately entered upon a campaign to secure the ratification of the amendment. Not all State Legislatures meet every year and this was the year when only ten states met, but to the amazement of all, several states were called in special session and before the end of the legislative year fifteen states had ratified, Mississippi being the first.

The new legislative year opened January 1, 1919. State after state ratified, until on the morning of January 16, 1919, it was a race between Nebraska and Missouri as to which would be the thirty-sixth state. Nebraska won by twenty minutes. The States were determined to go on record on this very important question; forty-six gave their approval to the Eighteenth Amendment, the only two that failed to ratify being Connecticut and Rhode Island.

Prohibition had been adopted as a war policy under the title of "War Prohibition" but it was

necessary that there be an enforcement code applicable to both war prohibition and the Eighteenth Amendment. The Hon. Andrew J. Volstead of Minnesota was chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House. Upon this committee was placed the responsibility for drafting the enforcement code. It required only a majority vote by Congress to pass it. It was, however, vetoed by President Wilson but passed over his veto by the necessary two-thirds vote, so that not only was the Eighteenth Amendment passed by a two-thirds vote of both branches of Congress but the Volstead Act, its enabling act, was passed by the same large vote—a two-thirds vote.

After any law has been passed, it is contested in the courts and this was no exception. The opponents of prohibition were well organized, they raised a large sum of money, and they employed able lawyers who carried the case to the United States Supreme Court.

As a result of these contests the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, now known as the Federal Prohibition Act, were sustained and the Supreme Court declared that Congress was within its rights in defining intoxicating liquors as those containing more than one-half of one per cent of alcohol. This had been the accepted definition in the Internal Revenue Department.

According to the provisions of the prohibition amendment, from this time known as the Eighteenth Amendment, it did not become operative

until one year after its ratification by thirty-six states.

On January 29, 1919, the Hon. Frank L. Polk, acting Secretary of State, issued the proclamation stating that the Eighteenth Amendment had been ratified by thirty-six states and had therefore become a part of the Constitution of the United States.

Great was the rejoicing among the women of the nation. The liquor traffic was an outlaw, but they little realized that such organized opposition would develop and that the enforcement of the law would be fought so strenuously that the campaign would bid fair to continue as long as the women had worked to put prohibition in the Constitution.

**Text of the Eighteenth Amendment
to the Constitution of
The United States**

In Effect January 16, 1920

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Sec. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

VI

HISTORIC PETITIONS

THE right of petition belongs to all citizens. In pre-suffrage days it was used extensively and resulted in crystallizing public sentiment and focusing the attention of legislative and political bodies on the opinions of men and women.

Susan B. Anthony was once told that women did not want the right to vote; to prove her case she circulated a petition which came back to her with the names of 28,000 women who backed this woman suffrage pioneer. That was many years ago; since that time, women have become expert in using the petition to express public sentiment against the liquor traffic, and to present to legislators a visible demonstration of the strength of the temperance movement. Before women had the vote they worked against the saloon by the one means in their power—the petition. In the campaigns for state-wide prohibition and for local option women circulated petitions and obtained the names of millions of men and women who wanted the liquor traffic suppressed. Sometimes these petitions took the form of resolutions adopted in public meetings, in churches, and at conventions;

sometimes they took another form for they urged sending letters and postal cards to legislators in favour of a given measure, or in opposition thereto.

I recall an experience before a legislative committee in New York State, where a bill had been introduced to liberalize the laws in regard to the protection of girls. There was a small attendance at the hearing on the bill and the chairman of the committee said he had no protests against it. "The people do not know about it," I replied. "Delay action for two weeks and you will know the sentiment of the state." The next day letters went to every local Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the state describing the bill in detail and asking that each union urge at least ten people to write letters in opposition to its enactment. The bill was killed. "I did not know you had so strong an organization," said the committee chairman to me. "I have been literally snowed under with letters against that bill."

A successful petition means arduous work and coöperation. The petition must be presented to individuals, in order to overcome opposition. This means visiting people at their homes, their offices, their stores, on their farms; it means traveling day and night in all sorts of weather. With the Woman's Christian Temperance Union it was and is volunteer service, and it entails great sacrifice, but the women of the white ribbon organization have perfected themselves in the business of crystallizing sentiment and presenting the evidences

Drop
of
water

work
not
talk

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thereof. I propose to give as an example of what has been accomplished in petitions the story of four famous undertakings in this line which have had considerable effect upon the progress and history of the American people. Some one had to take the lead in organizing sentiment against the liquor traffic and in these instances it was the progressive women of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

THE HOME PROTECTION PETITION

Frances Willard presented the idea for this first petition to the third convention of the National W. C. T. U. when she was corresponding secretary. It was perfected at the fourth convention and went out to the country and came back to Congress where it made a great stir. It was called the "Home Protection Petition" and it asked for the enactment of a law that "No place for the sale of intoxicating drinks shall be licensed without the consent of a majority of voters, and of women over eighteen years of age . . . such consent to be expressed by their signature to a petition for such license."

It was signed by men and women of eighteen years and over, and was presented to Congress through a special committee appointed for the purpose. It was a thousand feet long and contained thirty-five thousand names. The story of this presentation is preserved in the annual report of the National W. C. T. U. for 1879:

"The memorial tied up with red, white and blue ribbons, resting on a pedestal draped with a flag, was carried into the House before the opening of Congress. The Committee (Mrs. Wittenmyer, Miss Willard, Mrs. Johnson, and Mrs. Denman) comfortably seated in Speaker Randall's section of the members gallery, for which tickets had been kindly sent, looked down with profound interest and concern.

"We say concern, because of the fear excited by the scores of nimble fingers of pages that were picking at it, and the swarm of reporters and members that from time to time gathered about it. However, no damage was done.

"In due time arrangements were made and the committee of ladies went before the Judiciary Committee, and pressed their interests by brief speeches. They were listened to with profound attention. Nothing, however, was done in the matter, but it was something after all to leave an immense petition to remind them that thousands were looking to them with expectation. And the time is coming, and it is hastening, when victory will crown all their efforts to overthrow the liquor traffic."

This Home Protection Petition attracted attention even though it did not result immediately in advanced legislation for home protection.

THE POLYGLOT PETITION

Five years later Miss Willard evolved the idea of a petition from all the countries of the world against the liquor evil. The idea came to her while in her study at Rest Cottage, her home in a

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quiet street in Evanston, Illinois, as she was thinking over the work of a great temperance pioneer, Mary Clement Leavitt, the first round-the-world white ribbon missionary. Miss Willard wrote this remarkable petition which she addressed to the rulers of nations of the world with its appeal for world prohibition, world purity, and freedom from the opium trade. It stands out historically significant as the first world-wide effort for coöperation between nations against the liquor traffic. As gatherers of names the women of the W. C. T. U. had progressed in experience, for the "Polyglot Petition," as this second great document was called, was signed by seven and a half million persons from fifty countries.

It was presented to the great governments and many of the most famous rulers. It was presented first to President Cleveland in 1895. A year later it was presented to Queen Victoria. Two years later it was presented to the Canadian government, and was received by the Premier, Sir Wilfred Laurier.

Miss Willard described the petition in this way:

"To enumerate the languages in whose characters the beliefs of women have been moulded to action by this far-reaching document, would be to make a list of almost every tongue that has survived the confusion of Babel. There are columns of Chinese women's signatures that look like houses that Jack built. There is a list of Burmese signatures that looks like bunches of 'tangled

worms.' The thousands upon thousands from the spicy Isle of Ceylon are enough to make a short-hand man shudder; the incomprehensible but liquid vowels of the Hawaiian Kanaka jostle the proud names of English ladies of high degree; the Spanish of haughty señoras of Madrid makes the same plea as the 'her mark' of the converted women of the Congo. There are Spanish names from Mexico and the South American Republics, French from Martinique, Dutch from Natal and English from New Zealand, besides the great home petition from the greater nations. The total, counting men's and women's signatures, endorsements, and attestations, aggregates seven and one half million.

"United States: every state represented, also Alaska and Hawaii; Canada: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, British Columbia; Newfoundland; Bahamas; Jamaica; West Indies; Chile; Mexico; Uruguay; Brazil; England; Scotland; Sweden; Finland; Russia; Holland; Turkey; Egypt; Africa: Congo, Angola, Transvaal, South Africa, West Africa; Australia: Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania; New Zealand; Micronesia; Madagascar; Madeira Islands; Martinique Islands; India; Siam; Burma; Bulgaria; Ceylon; China; Japan; Korea."

Most of the petition has been preserved at the headquarters of the National W. C. T. U. in Evanston, mounted by Mrs. Rebecca C. Shuman of Evanston, a devoted White Ribboner. It was a



POLYGLOT PETITION OF THE WORLD'S WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

*Addressed to the Governments of the World,
Honoured Rulers, Representatives and Brothers:*

We, your petitioners, although belonging to the physically weaker sex, are strong of heart to love our homes, our native land and the world's family of nations.

We know that clear brains and pure hearts make honest lives and happy homes, and that by these the nations prosper, and the time is brought nearer when the world shall be at peace.

We know that indulgence in Alcohol and Opium, and in other vices which disgrace our social life, makes misery for all the world, and most of all for us and for our children.

We know that stimulants and opiates are sold under legal guarantees which make the Governments partners in the traffic, by accepting as revenue a portion of the profits, and we know with shame that they are often forced by treaty upon populations, either ignorant or unwilling.

We know that law might do much, now left undone, to raise the moral tone of society and render vice difficult.

We have no power to prevent these great iniquities beneath which the whole world groans, but you have power to redeem the honour of the nations from an indefensible complicity.

We therefore come to you with the united voices of representative women of every land, beseeching you to raise the standard of the laws to that of Christian morals, to strip away the safeguards and sanctions of the state from the drink traffic and the opium trade, and to protect our homes by the total prohibition of these curses of civilization throughout all the territory over which your Government extends.

labour of love, and she was two years in finishing the work. The signed papers are on strips of muslin, half a yard wide and bound at the edges with red and blue braid. The names average four columns abreast. Mrs. Shuman used two thousand yards of muslin and four thousand yards of braid and did all the stitching by hand. The names of the British signers have been kept in England or the petition preserved at Evanston would be longer. Folded compactly, the petition fills seven large packing boxes. There is probably nothing like it anywhere in the world.

PETITION FOR WAR PROHIBITION

This recalls the World War. One of the great problems was the conservation of food. The great scandal was the refusal of the brewers to coöperate. While America had the task of feeding the Allies, the brewers continued to use for their own destructive business enough grain to make eleven million loaves of bread a day. The President, using his broad war-time powers, closed down the distilleries and released the whiskey grain for food, but the brewers brought the power of a huge lobby to work against the idea of taking anything away from the beer interests. At one time the beer lobby effected a complete stoppage of all war legislation as a threat against the proposal to stop brewing and to use the grain, fuel, and railroad facilities for war purposes.

This dog-in-the-manger attitude exasperated the

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women of America who saw their husbands, sons, and sweethearts sacrificing everything against the enemy. American women went into the war with a deep feeling of patriotism; they were giving too much to bear with equanimity the selfish attitude of the brewers; and so they went to work to close the breweries by petition.

"We, in behalf of mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, and sweethearts of enlisted men," read the petition of the National W. C. T. U. to Woodrow Wilson, "appeal to you, our Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to prohibit the further waste of these foodstuffs in the production of malt and vinous liquors during the period of the war."

The petition was signed by the official representatives of twenty-nine national organizations of women, the wives of governors, national officials, senators, congressmen, educators, authors, artists, and public-spirited women generally. State organizations signed through their officials, until all told the number of women represented in this plea amounted to six million.

"We believe" [said Miss Anna A. Gordon, president of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in her letter to President Wilson] "this is the first petition in the history of our country in which all leading organizations of women—civic, fraternal, social, patriotic, and religious—as well as hundreds of notable women in the educational and official life of the Republic, have united. It comes to you, Mr. President, as the voice of the

women of America. It comes to you, our Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, at the time of an appalling crisis which peculiarly concerns the mothers of the Nation.

"Educated by the Government to believe that food will win the war, these women, whose magnificent war service and sacrifice are everywhere attested, plead for the maximum conservation of food materials for the duration of the war. They earnestly and respectfully ask that all food materials now used in the production of malt liquors be diverted to food supplies desperately needed by our Army and the armies of the allies.

"On behalf of the 6,000,000 petitioners, Mr. President, we thank you for the steps in this direction already taken, and we beg your early and favourable consideration of the prayer of the memorial we have the honour to place in your hands."

This evidence of sincerity on the part of the American women stirred Senator Wesley L. Jones of Washington to a speech in the Senate. He called it "one of the most remarkable petitions ever prepared" and said it had been signed "by many of the most prominent women of this country of every class and occupation," that it was "distinctly a winning-of-the-war appeal by the patriotic women of the country who are doing everything in their power to bring the war to a successful termination." It was presented by them "as patriots, not as partisans of any particular idea."

This petition had its effect. The beer and wine interests fought bitterly against conservation for war purposes at their expense, but President Wil-

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son, again using his war-time power, issued a proclamation September 16, 1918, stopping the manufacture of malt liquors for beverage purposes after December 1 of that year; and before that time came, Herbert Hoover, then Food Administrator, prohibited the use of grain for making beer.

PETITION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION

Frances Willard had asked the conventions of the great political parties for a prohibition plank in their platforms. That was in 1883, a long time before prohibition was recognized generally as a national issue. Years later, in 1911, Lillian M. N. Stevens, president of the National W. C. T. U., uttered her famous proclamation calling on America to adopt a prohibition amendment to the Constitution within the decade. It came in nine years—and as part of the educational measures of that last stage of the pre-prohibition era, the W. C. T. U. prepared another petition that had a dramatic part in the final setting.

The story of the petition is only one of a myriad of facts to disprove the ignorant claim that "Prohibition was put over as a result of the hysteria of the war." The W. C. T. U. had been working for prohibition forty years and more by the time the Eighteenth Amendment became effective; and this last petition was a part of the educational campaign adopted by the organization in 1913 at a national convention at Asbury Park, New Jersey.

A great program of public meetings was planned for churches, clubs and Young People's Societies and at each of these gatherings resolutions were to be adopted, and eventually put together in the form of a petition to be given to Congress. Following is the resolution:

RESOLVED, That we heartily endorse the movement for National Constitutional Prohibition embodied in the Joint Resolution introduced in the United States Congress by Congressman Richmond Pearson Hobson, proposing an amendment to the Constitution forever prohibiting the sale, manufacture for sale, importation or exportation for sale of beverages or foods containing alcohol.

Later it was changed to read as follows:

RESOLVED, That we are in hearty favour of National Constitutional Prohibition and will do all within our power to secure the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution forever prohibiting the sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, and exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States, in accordance with the Joint Resolution introduced in the United States Senate by Senators Morris Sheppard and Jacob H. Gallinger, and in the House by Representatives Edwin Y. Webb and Addison Smith.

The work of gathering these resolutions and all papers in connection therewith was in the hands of Mrs. Frances Pride Parks, national corresponding secretary, and the petition was presented in the

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United States Senate at the opening of the debate on submitting to the states the resolution which afterward became the Eighteenth Amendment. Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas, author of the National Constitutional Resolution in the Senate, presented this great petition to the Upper House. It was taken to the space directly in front of the Vice-President's rostrum, a huge roll of the names of those who had signed themselves in favour of an amendment to the Constitution outlawing the liquor traffic. The petition had been gathered by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and it recorded the wishes of twelve million men and women. It remained in its conspicuous position for the entire three days of debate.

In the House of Representatives the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Representative Edwin Y. Webb, author of the House resolution for a Constitutional amendment for prohibition, referred to the petition and placed in the record a letter from Miss Anna A. Gordon, which contains so much of the fact and spirit of that exciting and glorious time that it is here lifted from the *Congressional Record* and again presented to the public. Addressed to Mr. Webb, the letter read:

"It is an honour to present to you, and through you, to the House of Representatives, the appeal of five hundred thousand members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, praying for the passage of the joint resolution providing for a referendum to the states on National Constitutional Pro-

hibition. This appeal comes from a host of home-loving women who, with untiring energy and unstinted devotion, have wrought marvelously for the moral and spiritual advancement of our country. This appeal comes from half a million patriots who answered promptly the call to the colours. The nobility of woman's sacrifice, the fine quality of her patriotic service, her keen discernment in the adjustment of industrial conditions for women and children, her tender ministrations at home and on the battlefield should entitle her to the granting by the Congress of this appeal.

"In addition to the petition of women members of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, I beg to present a huge petition of the endorsers of the Joint Resolution for a referendum to the states on National Constitutional Prohibition, secured through the efforts of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and representing eight million men and women of our Republic. Adding to these the petitions sent directly to members of Congress it is safe to say that our appeal is backed by more than eleven million people. If these petitioners could be massed in solid phalanx in our Capital City you would see more than thirty times the population of the District of Columbia.

"Unquestionably it is an appeal for an act of true democracy, an appeal for a patriotic economic measure. Autocracy and alcohol must be overthrown. 'Speed up' is the urgent cry echoing back to us from the awful battle fronts of Europe. 'Speed up' on prohibition legislation is the respectful appeal of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to the Congress of the United States. We pray that in this crucial time of a stupendous world crisis the House of Representatives will rise

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to this exalted opportunity and give to the legislatures of the various states the chance to deal with a question so enormously vital to the economic and moral interests of our republic. When the war is over and a righteous peace has been secured, only the clear brain of a sober nation can be entrusted with the solution of the mighty problems that will then confront the greatest democracy on earth—the United States of America.”

That this petition had its effect on both the Senate and the House is shown by the vote in the Senate of sixty-five in favour, to twenty against, and by the vote in the House of two hundred and eighty-two in favour and one hundred and twenty-eight against.

Petitions are not votes but petitions express the will of those who sign them, and the fine leadership of the prohibition cause in both the Senate and the House was strengthened by this visible means of showing public sentiment.

ENROLLMENT

During the years of the campaign for National Prohibition, many other ways of showing the trend of public opinion were devised. One of these was the filing in the headquarters of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union at Washington of the names of members of the organization, arranged by states and congressional districts. This was done at the suggestion of Miss Gordon, National President, and the immense task of filing the names has been done under the direction of

Mrs. Ellis A. Yost, director of the Department of Legislation. Visitors to National Headquarters are greatly interested in these allegiance cards, and though it is a changing list, efforts are made to keep it up to date. Only the names of active members of the W. C. T. U. are enrolled. An increasing number of honorary members is being added. Five hundred thousand names are on file, with addresses, making it possible for Members of Congress to get in touch with Dry leaders at short notice.

Another important visible presentation of sentiment is to be found in the Patriotic Roll assembled by the Young People's Branch. It was a pledge of obedience to law and support of the Eighteenth Amendment. The completion of the Patriotic Roll and its presentation at the Congress of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Lausanne, Switzerland, in July, 1928, formed the most intensive, far-reaching and spectacular part of the year's work in the Young People's Branch. The Patriotic Roll originated in New York State as a practical expression of the attitude of the young people when the legislature of that state repealed the state prohibition enforcement code. It was adopted by the National Young People's Branch at the Chicago convention in 1924. The petitions were assembled by the secretary, Miss Winona Jewell, and mounted on muslin. The number of signatures was 361,500, and the petition was two miles in length. It was shipped to Lau-

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sanne and presented to the World's W. C. T. U. Convention. As Miss Jewell pointed to these assembled petitions which were massed in front of the platform in the Aula of the university, she compared their length to the highest mountain in the Alps visible from Lausanne, the Dent du Midi. This made a deep impression upon the representatives of many nations, and bore testimony to the world of the loyalty of young people in the United States to National Prohibition.

The Youth's Roll Call is a new project along the same line.

Young people between the ages of fourteen and thirty are invited to sign. It is confidently expected that more than a million young people will respond to the Roll Call, which will be continued throughout the administration of Mr. Hoover. Its influence will be far-reaching because, just as young men responded to the call for service in the World War, so young men and young women, at the age when habits are forming, will be the conservators of prohibition when the responsibility of citizenship becomes theirs.

To secure signatures to Youth's Roll Call is a practical project to enlist young people for law observance, and all women's organizations, as well as churches, Young People's Societies, and Sunday schools, are urged to coöperate.*

* Send to Young People's Branch, National W. C. T. U., 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois, for blank which will be sent free for postage.

Youth's Roll Call

Our Nation stands upon the threshold of a new epoch of national life.

With President Hoover I WANT PROHIBITION TO SUCCEED. I WANT TO GIVE PROHIBITION ITS CHANCE.

That the Constitution may be protected and orderly government preserved, I declare my purpose to abstain from the use of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage, to support and defend the Eighteenth Amendment and thus to contribute to the success of prohibition.

NAME

ADDRESS

Sign in Ink if Possible

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The Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution:

1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

2. The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

VII

WOMEN CARRY ON

NATIONAL holidays mark national events. We celebrate July Fourth, our nation's birthday; we celebrate the birthdays of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. In such celebrations we not only call to remembrance the great event which is commemorated but use the date as the occasion for proclaiming anew our loyalty to American principles, our gratitude for the great contribution these men made to America's progress, and the responsibility resting on all to-day to maintain these ideals.

January 16 is worthy a place in the list of national holidays, for on this date in 1920 the law prohibiting the beverage traffic in intoxicating liquors became operative.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union observes the day each year as the birthday of National Prohibition, with public meetings, conferences, banquets, and luncheons, the object being to call to remembrance the long struggle for freedom from the liquor traffic, the progressive steps that led up to National Prohibition, the necessity for law observance and for giving to the government moral and political support in law enforcement.

January 16, 1920, marked a change in the attitude of the government toward the liquor traffic. Before that time, the traffic had been legalized under conditions authorized by Federal and state legislation. License laws began "Be it resolved that the traffic in intoxicating liquors is hereby prohibited except, etc." The "except" was followed by provisions under which liquor might be sold. In most states, through local option, the people were given the privilege of vetoing the "except" annually by vote in a given area. The area, however, was too local and the privilege too optional.

By 1920 thirty-three states, by vote of the people on an amendment to the state constitution, or by legislative enactment, were under prohibition law. The liquor traffic was so powerful in the remaining fifteen states, its political influence was so great, its financial strength so imposing, that these fifteen states interfered with the enforcement of the law in the thirty-three prohibition states. The liquor traffic also prevented legislation looking toward prohibition in these fifteen states.

It was the day of the highly organized liquor traffic. The Whiskey and Distillers' Associations, the United States Brewers' Associations, the United Liquor Dealers' Associations, were represented by able lawyers at all public hearings at state legislatures, and they violently opposed any legislation giving the people the right to vote against the license system.

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The annual drink bill of the nation was two billions of dollars in cash, while the indirect cost was as much more. There were 177,000 licensed places occupying strategic positions in licensed territory, one thousand breweries, and five hundred distilleries running at full speed.

The World War hastened the coming of prohibition, but prohibition would have come anyway. The progressive education in the effects of alcohol on the human body over a period of fifty years had produced a generation of men and women who knew that the results of the liquor traffic were inherent in the traffic itself, that it could not be controlled, and that the only solution was to outlaw it.

Efficiency in business, the advance in machinery, Safety First campaigns, and increased emphasis on health and on removing the preventable causes of disease, poverty, and crime, all contributed to arouse a people, sensitive through the strain of a great war, to seek a solution of this problem.

As we have seen, prohibition of the beverage traffic in intoxicating liquors was enacted by the orderly processes of government. January 16, 1920, saw the beginning of the new policy. Apparently it came as a great surprise to those who had not taken seriously the advance in temperance sentiment and the increase in prohibition territory. The churches, the women's organizations, and women all around the world hailed the beginning of a new era. "John Barleycorn is dead" was heralded far and wide, and there was great rejoic-

ing. We soon knew he was not dead. He had become an outlaw. We further learned that there were men and women within our borders who were giving him "aid and comfort."

The passage of the National Prohibition Act defining intoxicating liquors as those containing more than one-half of one per cent of alcohol, in accordance with the accepted custom in the Internal Revenue Department for fifty years, was the next step; it provided penalties for the violation of the law and prescribed the provisions under which wine might be sold for sacramental purposes, distilled spirits for medicinal purposes, and alcohol for industrial and mechanical purposes.

Some of the immediate results of the operation of National Prohibition and the progressive legislation in connection therewith were:

1. Immediate closing of saloons and hotel bars.
2. Removal of all signs over saloon premises.
3. Disappearance of all advertising of liquors in newspapers and magazines. (After ten years even the names of noted brands of whiskey and beer are forgotten.)
4. Elimination of advertisements for positions of bartenders.
5. Disappearance from the streets of big trucks loaded with beer.
6. A marked decrease in the use of liquors at social functions and their passing altogether at state functions.
7. A decrease in poverty caused by drink.
8. A marked increase in savings bank deposits.

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9. Increase in number of children completing high school courses.
10. Great increase in number of automobiles, in the enjoyment of which whole families share.

It could not be expected that such a great change in policy could be effected without opposition. The law ran counter to the appetites of many. It changed employment and this took time to adjust. It discovered a disloyalty to the law that was fostered by greed and misrepresentation. On the other hand, many who had supported prohibition felt the end had been accomplished in the adoption of the law, hence no further effort was needed.

Though this was true of many good people, it was not true of the leading temperance organizations, and it is my part to tell of the continued work by women in this field. One problem to be solved was the problem of literature. Most of that on the shelves of the Publishing House of the National W. C. T. U. was campaign literature to promote prohibition, to inspire total abstinence from that which was legally sold. The change in policy entailed the printing of new literature with the general theme of law enforcement and law observance. Literally tons of literature that had cost thousands of dollars but that did not meet the situation after prohibition came, had to be scrapped and sold for old paper. It took time and money to create new literature to suit the new condition.

The Union Signal, the official organ of the W. C. T. U., championed law observance and law enforce-

ment and was quick to call attention to the benefits of prohibition, for too often other public journals considered any violation of law an item of news to be given great prominence on the front page.

Some of the local unions had been in existence a long time. Overcome with the joy of victory, a few died literally of that very joy, but new unions, and larger unions took their places.

God's providence was never more clearly seen than in the guiding of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. In 1915 Miss Gordon, in her annual address, had recommended the appointment of a committee to formulate plans for the celebration in 1924 of the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the W. C. T. U. Deborah Knox Livingston was chairman of the committee and together they recommended that the event be celebrated by raising a million dollars for temperance work under the auspices of the W. C. T. U. and the enlisting of a million members by 1924. Big organizations move slowly. The details of these plans were not completely worked out and launched until November, 1919.

When prohibition came, the W. C. T. U. was girded for this new campaign which enlisted the active coöperation of every state officer through the enthusiastic leadership of the national officers. The public cannot realize what it meant to the W. C. T. U. to raise a million dollars. The organization had never stressed money. It had stressed service. The dues in most states were only fifty

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cents a year (they are now a dollar) and there was always the fear that emphasis on money might prevent service and decrease membership.

The money was apportioned by states according to the membership of that year. I was president of New York State at that time, and I remember how I felt when the apportionment was received—\$135,000. It seemed an impossibility to raise it. I called a meeting of the Executive Committee in Albany. I told the women about the great Jubilee in 1924. I told them about the million dollars and the million members. I did not tell them our share. I continued with my story but stopped before the amount was reached. I tried it again. One of the women said, "How much do we have to raise?" When I hesitated in reply she said, "Is it \$300,000?" I answered, "No." She then said, "\$200,000?"—"No." "How much is it then?" "\$135,000." A county president of the smallest county in the state said, "Is that all?" This reply broke the strain. New York State, as practically every other state, accepted its responsibility and long before the Jubilee meeting in Chicago in 1924 the million dollars in money was raised and was at work financing new literature and promoting educational work. It continues to supplement the regular funds even to the point of helping the women in sixteen nations to carry on their temperance program. The effort to win the million members was even more difficult. It is always easier to win members for a legislative cam-

paign than for one of education, and many people thought the work was ended. But that, too, was successful, and membership continued to increase with the result that 225,000 more new members have been enrolled since 1925. The life of the W. C. T. U. was not only saved for the cause by this program but it was strengthened and financially equipped for better service, with an enlarged vision of its possibilities and responsibilities.

It is often charged that the temperance people have neglected Scientific Temperance Instruction in the public schools in recent years. The charge is unfounded so far as efforts on that line are concerned. We never placed more emphasis on the necessity for this work than we have since 1920, but too many boards of education and too many teachers considered the work unnecessary after prohibition came. The responsibility had shifted to the teaching force after Scientific Temperance Instruction laws were secured and it was as much the duty of the schools to teach the effect of alcohol and other narcotics on the human system as to teach any other subject prescribed by law.

More than a million essays on subjects suited to the various grades have been written in the public schools within the last three years in competition for cash prizes awarded by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. This is our method of stimulating interest in the question. We aim to make the essays practical as one can see from the following subjects:

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- “What Total Abstinence Means to a Life.”
- “Why Total Abstinence from Alcoholic Liquors is Especially Necessary in Modern Business and Transportation.”
- “What Effects of Alcohol Make Total Abstinence Important in Modern Methods of Travel?”
- “Would the Drink Habit Help Me Become a Good . . .” (Selecting any trade, occupation or profession.)

Instruction in the effect of alcohol, with scientific and legal reasons for law observance, accompanied by the example of teachers who themselves observe the law and who study how to present this subject with the same high standard of methods employed in other subjects, is essential to the permanency of prohibition.

Each year has found the Woman's Christian Temperance Union meeting the need of the hour, through suitable literature, field service, through support of state and Federal legislation, through *The Union Signal*, through the channels of the organization which comprises ten thousand local unions, through county organizations, state organizations in every state, and in Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Porto Rico.

The adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment giving women the right to vote on the same terms as men found temperance women eager to use their ballots intelligently. This new situation furnished the occasion for changing the name of the Department of Franchise to Christian Citizenship, and re-

sulted in an intensive study of the Federal Constitution, the duty of officials, the personnel and work of political parties, together with a study of campaign issues.

With the adoption of prohibition and the right to vote, and in consideration of the fact that voters in all parties were responsible for submitting prohibition, and for the passage of enforcement codes, members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union by resolution and subsequent action identified themselves with the party of their choice, and worked within the party in support of Dry candidates. The conviction that the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment was a vital issue and worthy of recognition by all political parties, deepened.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has always emphasized law observance as essential to law enforcement. In the first place, it is a total abstinence organization and has been from the beginning. When prohibition was enacted, it changed its pledge to meet the new condition so that the pledge now reads:

"I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from all distilled, fermented, and malt liquors, including wine, beer, and cider, and to employ all proper means to secure the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution."

Not all are willing to sacrifice the tastes of the

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palate to promote the success of a cause, but such has been the practice of the W. C. T. U.

Why include cider in the pledge? When the pledge was framed, the cider barrel was found in nearly every cellar. It was placed there in the fall and its contents formed a contribution to practically every social function and even to the long evenings at home. Many a man became a cider drunkard because he was unaware that cider contained alcohol, the result of fermentation. Cider was usually made of apples discarded for other purposes, pressed out on old pummies; and it is a fact that fruit juices exposed to the air will begin to ferment in less than forty-eight hours; therefore practically none of the cider of those days was free from alcohol. The increasing amount of alcohol from day to day simply satisfied the increasing desire for alcohol. Hard cider was called "the devil's kindling wood." Our pledge is against distilled, fermented and malt liquors, for these contain alcohol. Because some people then, as now, were ignorant of the fact that fermentation of apple juice produced alcohol, cider is specifically mentioned in the pledge.

In these later years, however, the use of non-alcoholic fruit juices has greatly increased. We have grape juice, orange juice, pineapple juice; and apple juice freshly expressed from clean good apples, free from rot, hermetically sealed, is in the same category. The White Ribboner who knows the danger will be careful to explain that apple

juice may be as free from alcohol as is grape juice or orange juice. She will not let her "good be evil spoken of" nor will she by her example make a weak brother or sister to offend. It is alcohol in every form, alcohol which we know to be a narcotic poison, to which the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is opposed, and for this reason we are willing to pledge ourselves not to use any kind of alcoholic liquor in order that we may set the right example and help free the world from strong drink.

All kinds of unfermented fruit juices, properly prepared, and safeguarded from fermentation, are wholesome and their use commendable.

Why not serve cocktails or punch? If there were no other reason, the wine, sherry, etc. must be purchased and there is no provision under the Constitution by which this can be done legally. In addition, there is this reason: the home should not contribute to the appetite for alcohol. Alcohol is the same whether purchased at a saloon, in a drug store, or in a grocery. What will take its place? A little care in the proper blending of fruit juices will tempt the palate without creating a taste for alcoholic liquors.

A friend of mine was hostess at a young ladies' school in pre-prohibition days. It was her task to see to it that punch was provided for the evening social functions. She was so particular that this should be appetizing that she supervised it herself. A wealthy lady, the patroness of the school, said to Miss A. one day, "I am to have a

reception in a few days. Will you order the ingredients and mix the punch?" Miss A. placed the order and the lady said, "You have not ordered any sherry." The reply was, "I never use it." "But," said Mrs. S., "I didn't know you could make punch without sherry." She added, "Go ahead—yours was so delicious, I want mine just like it." Not only did Mrs. S. serve non-alcoholic punch at all her social functions that winter and afterward, but most of the other social leaders did the same.

Since prohibition, many such combinations of fruit juices have been invented which are delicious. We submit a few in the appendix and in these days of many fruit juices and carbonated water, the ingenious hostess will invent many other combinations. These same unfermented fruit juices make delectable sauces for puddings. Even the once popular mince pie and the fruit cake and plum pudding our ancestors made famous may be improved by substituting jelly or the syrup from pickled peaches or pears for the wine or brandy. The women of America cannot afford to let the home contribute to appetite for alcoholic liquor.

There are notable instances of principle put into practice in public life. Mrs. R. B. Hayes, wife of President Hayes, when called to be hostess at the White House, did not leave her principles behind her in Ohio. She was the first president of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. She had felt the

spirit of the Crusade. She established the standard that no alcoholic liquor should be served at any social function in the White House. That was a long time ago, in 1877. It took courage, but that courage was backed by a conscience, and her husband supported her. No members of the Cabinet, no diplomats, no members of Congress or their wives stayed away because of this. Her life-size picture graces the White House to-day, presented by her friends, a perpetual witness to the fact that "She did what she could."

When William Jennings Bryan was Secretary of State, it was a matter of first page news that instead of serving wine at one of their large social functions, Mr. and Mrs. Bryan had served grape juice. The news went all over the country and was reported all around the world. How did it come about? Both Mr. and Mrs. Bryan were total abstainers. At that time, before prohibition, wines were served by all. It was a problem how to proceed. Mrs. Bryan told me they decided to use grape juice, and she added, "We made it as good as we knew how." It created a social storm, but it was a matter of principle. Now grape juice, either plain or combined with fruit juices or carbonated water, is served in public and private. It is manufactured by big companies, hermetically sealed, and many a housewife cans grape juice as she cans fruits in glass jars. All honour to Mr. and Mrs. Bryan for leading the way to the serving of non-alcoholic fruit juice.

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No alcoholic liquors, as a beverage, were served by President and Mrs. Coolidge, nor are they served by President and Mrs. Hoover. In England the Prince of Wales sets the fashions. The people follow. In America it is good form to follow the example set by the President, and we rejoice that official Washington is already following the example of the customs of the White House.

Parents can only blame themselves when their sons and daughters indulge in drinking parties if they set the wrong kind of an example.

Miss Gordon declined reelection in 1925 and the responsibility of leading the White Ribboners of America was given me by vote of the annual convention in Detroit. It was a responsibility that could not be carried without dependence upon Divine guidance.

Perhaps nothing better characterizes the work of the years since then than the slogans adopted each year around which the work has centered:

“ MOBOLIZE FOR LAW OBSERVANCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ”

“ HOLD FAST AND GO FORWARD ”

“ PROHIBITION IS THE BEST METHOD ”

“ GIVE PROHIBITION ITS CHANCE—THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC HAD ITS DAY ”

No story of this period would be complete without the story of the contribution made by Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, who was for seven

years in the responsible position of Assistant Attorney General in charge of law enforcement. It was her duty to prepare cases for presentation to the U. S. Supreme Court. In all, forty-five important decisions sustaining the Eighteenth Amendment and its supporting legislation have been rendered since 1920, and no less than twenty-two of these decisions were rendered during Mrs. Willebrandt's term of office. (See appendix for these decisions.) In presenting these cases she opposed successfully some of the ablest lawyers in the nation. By her activity, her ability, and the conscientious performance of the duties of her office, she incurred the hostility of the opponents of prohibition, and she was bitterly attacked. Through it all she bore herself with dignity and poise. She is not to be criticized, however, for returning to private practice with its larger freedom, after having served the government for seven years, as long a time as most Cabinet officers usually feel they can give to public service. Mrs. Willebrandt served well her government and the cause of law enforcement. She is a woman of sound judgment and fine principles. She merits the esteem of all law-abiding citizens.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has in its constituency members of all political parties. "With malice toward none and charity for all" we welcome all women of whatever political faith who are willing to sign our pledge which includes law observance and the support of law enforcement,

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and to contribute at least one dollar a year to the support of the organization.

It is the earnest desire of the members to exercise their franchise in such a way that men and women may be elected to all offices who will obey the law themselves, and will strengthen legislation to the end that our beloved country may receive full benefit from a great and good law.

The National W. C. T. U. prefers to place its emphasis on its educational work, on the training of children and young people, on investigating and promulgating the effect of alcohol on the human system, on showing the increasing benefits from the observance and enforcement of the prohibition law, on an educational campaign to help women to become intelligent voting citizens, and it will not willingly be turned aside from this purpose. We give the politicians fair warning, however, that the major issue of the women of America is to Give Prohibition Its Chance, that the nomination of Wet candidates by either party, or the adoption of a Wet platform by either party will be the signal not only for the W. C. T. U. to enter politics, but for hosts of church women busy with church enterprises to enter politics also. No national political party can ever win a national election with a Wet candidate, no matter what his platform.

Chauncey Depew was asked if prohibition would ever be repealed. He replied, "No." "Why?" With emphasis he gave his answer in a single word—"Women."

VIII

THE COMING OF THE RESERVES

THUS far our story has dealt largely with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union because it was the pioneer organization and there was no other distinctly national woman's society systematically working for the temperance cause.

Many individual women, active in other reforms, have championed total abstinence and prohibition. Susan B. Anthony began her public work in the interests of temperance; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mary Garrett Hay began theirs in the W. C. T. U. Mrs. Gordon Norrie and Mrs. Samuel J. Bens made a notable contribution though they were officially identified with the League of Women Voters.

Among women leaders actively supporting prohibition today are Carrie Chapman Catt, world-wide Suffragist and chairman of the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War; Mary McDowell, Chicago's efficient welfare commissioner; Jane Addams of Hull House; Helen Barret Montgomery, former president of the Northern Baptist Convention; Dr. Mary E. Woolley, president of Mount Holyoke College; Mrs. F. Louis Slade and Catherine Waugh McCulloch of the League of Women

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Voters; Kathleen Norris, well-known writer; Mabel Walker Willebrandt, formerly Assistant Attorney-General of the United States and now special council for The Trans-Continental Aviation Corporation; Dr. Valeria H. Parker, president of the National Council of Women.

These are only a few of the hundreds of leaders among women who, by law observance and support of law enforcement, have helped and are helping the prohibition movement.

In 1923 the strength of the woman movement for prohibition was greatly increased by the addition of new recruits. Mrs. Henry W. Peabody, who had long been a leader in missionary work, enlisted the coöperation of women's national missionary boards in support of the Eighteenth Amendment. In the campaign for law enforcement she lined up many social leaders of wealth and influence. The methods employed were mainly educational, carried on through conventions, textbooks, literature and posters.

In answer to the question, "Is there any possibility of knowing the collective mind of women?" the Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement spoke through ten great national women's organizations, first in their own delegated bodies and then through their representatives who formed the executive committee. They spoke not once but repeatedly without wavering, and they affiliated for coöperative expression and action. These are the organizations:

General Federation of Women's Clubs
Young Women's Christian Association
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
Lend-a-Hand Society
International Order of King's Daughters
Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions
of North America
Council of Women for Home Missions
Woman's Christian Temperance Union
National Woman's Democratic Law Enforcement
League

The aggregate membership in these organizations is more than twelve millions of women who are above the average in character, intelligence, and patriotism. Protestant church women number approximately twenty millions. Considering the fact that there are some duplicates, Mrs. Peabody estimates that twelve millions of these are for the Eighteenth Amendment as indicated by the action of their church groups. Women of the Catholic Church are not represented in this list, but Kathleen Norris is typical of a great host of Catholic women who declare with Cardinal Mercier:

"If universal Prohibition could be introduced, more lives would be saved than by universal disarmament. Alcohol kills more men than war, and does it less honourably."

All these great bodies passed resolutions in favour of National Prohibition. Perhaps no more dramatic event ever happened at a meeting of the Biennial Federation of Women's Clubs than oc-

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curred at the meeting in Los Angeles in 1924. A resolution on Law Enforcement was introduced by Catherine Waugh McCulloch of Illinois. So many women were on their feet at once to second the motion that the chairman could scarcely be heard. It was all very orderly but in less time than it takes to tell it, the resolution was seconded by a delegate from every state.

That this was not merely a wave of enthusiasm is shown by the resolution adopted at the Biennial Council of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Grand Rapids, Michigan, in June, 1927:

WHEREAS, The Eighteenth Amendment prohibiting the manufacture, transportation and sale of intoxicating liquor, together with Federal and State enforcing laws, all adopted with large majorities, continues to be the subject of a vigorous onslaught for the purpose of reducing such majorities and of encouraging a sentiment favourable to the lax enforcement and nullification of such amendment and laws; now, therefore,

"BE IT RESOLVED, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Biennial Council assembled renews its allegiance to the Constitution of the United States of America and every part thereof; that we reaffirm our belief in the wisdom of national and state prohibition of the use of intoxicating liquor; that we oppose any weakening of the national or state enforcement laws; and that we favour adequate appropriations for such enforcement."

That the Woman's National Committee for Law

Enforcement was whole-hearted in its advocacy of prohibition is shown by the adoption of the following plank at its annual convention in Providence, Rhode Island, in May, 1927:

"As members of our respective political parties we shall require for our votes Presidential candidates whose public pledges and private performance uphold the Eighteenth Amendment.

"We shall require all platforms and all candidates to stand unequivocally for the support of the Constitution of the United States.

"We shall require clean records of every Administration, Federal, state and local, of enforcement honestly carried out, free from bribery, patronage and corruption by men who are for the law and are given sufficient power to be able to fulfill their duty. If this means making the Eighteenth Amendment the issue in the 1928 elections, then we are prepared to make it the issue."

Under the leadership of Mrs. Peabody two great law enforcement meetings were held in Washington, one in 1923 and the other in 1925. At the first conference Mrs. Herbert C. Hoover presided, and the wives of Cabinet officers and members of Congress were patronesses.

This new organization brought into the work for law enforcement many new women. State committees were formed in eighteen states, excellent literature was printed and distributed freely. One book, *Save America*, was sold and given away to the number of a hundred thousand. It is interesting to know how this publication got its name.

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Mrs. Peabody overheard a conversation one day in which the topic was how to save beer and wine. Quick as a flash it came to her—"Why not save America?" And thereupon she knew she had the name for her book.

Mrs. Peabody gave herself unstintingly to the Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement. Her work commanded attention, and her influence with that of her committee was continued throughout the presidential election of 1928. It represented the combined strength of all the women's national missionary societies, and these organizations were represented on the committee by one or more of the national officers.

This great new group of women, with which the Woman's Christian Temperance Union heartily co-operated, brought new strength to law enforcement. Following the leadership of their national bodies, many women who had not before felt responsibility in the enforcement of prohibition were enlisted and through the educational campaign carried on were led to register their convictions at the polls. Wet political optimists kept saying "The women will not vote." Many women had never voted. The reason was that they were not excited over the tariff, taxes, or other political pawns. Prohibition, however, was their own issue and they voted when they realized that it was at stake. Witness the large number of women who voted in the presidential election who never had voted before.

"It would not be fair" [says Mrs. Peabody]

“to say that all women want Prohibition. There are certain groups opposed. Among these is a group who reflect the influence of unceasing propaganda in press and magazines. They really believe that only fanatics are back of Prohibition, that it cannot be enforced, though it is in two-thirds of the states. They argue for Temperance versus Prohibition, forgetting that in the long years when temperance was the objective it was always possible for Wet border forces to ‘put the Wet into Dry states,’ while the temperance hosts could not ‘put the Dry into Wet states.’ Since state lines are imaginary, a Federal Amendment was essential to Dry States’ Rights which are as legitimate as Wet States’ Rights.

“The second group includes women of the underworld, with illiterate aliens from wine-growing countries who cannot be counted on for moral or patriotic issues. These classes were much larger in old saloon days, and will grow less with education.

“There is also the small privileged class. Few reforms start on Fifth Avenue or Beacon Street. Special privilege often breeds a type of self-centered women who hold themselves above moral or civic law; patriotic in war when the flag is in fashion, they are disloyal to the Constitution which protects them, their property and rights.”

The Chicago Woman’s Law Enforcement Committee asked in a questionnaire “Can you change the mind of your dripping Wet Senator?” An-

swer—"No; but you can change your Senator." This they did, following the example of women in New York State who had defeated a candidate for United States Senator who was a member of the Committee of Fifty of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.

Mrs. Peabody at our request states the *Reasons Why* so many women stand for the Eighteenth Amendment and its enforcement:

"Women are accustomed to enforcing laws, especially in home and school, as in city and state government. They are not at all afraid of prohibitions. They recognize the demand for personal liberty as that of a four-year-old mentality, sometimes found in Intellectuals. Then there were fewer alcoholics among women than among men, and women never feel the strain of giving up an old habit as men do, who cling fondly even to ancient garments, while most women readily adjust themselves to new. But back of these reasons is a great underlying natural law which will control the normal woman if human society continues. Men think logically, women biologically. The preservation of the race rests with the woman. Her instinct to protect the child leads her to deny herself privileges and liberties that injure the child. The woman's major reason for no repeal or modification of the Eighteenth Amendment is found in one word—'Children.'

"Alcoholism is a disease as real as tuberculosis, more dangerous to body, soul, and mind. The

health motive appeals to women. They have seen the galloping type of the disease of alcoholism and the slow decline. They agree with thousands of eminent physicians and with great insurance companies who face the health risk in their business that alcohol, a habit-forming drug, is a menace to health. In twenty-two states alcohol is not allowed even as a medicine. These are states with the highest health rate. Most of the medicinal alcohol released is used in New York and Illinois, where the health rate is low.

"Alcohol and vice have always gone hand in hand. The danger to youth from beer and wine is far greater than from distilled liquor. 'No harm to take a drink'—'Who has a right to interfere with my personal habits?' are Wet axioms which are dangerous to flaming youth. Indulgence in alcohol is accountable for political debauchery, for nearly every brutal crime and excess, for vast unhappiness and shame. Public safety in this mechanical age demands clear heads and steady hands which alcohol will not furnish.

"Women, half the electorate, have little place or power in the game of politics, but they have great influence for right issues. American men are fair, and knowing what good women want and why, they will see that their cause has fair representation. If only 'Mothers' Day' could be changed to Election Day and men would 'Say it with votes' instead of with flowers and orations, it would mean much to many mothers and homes.

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“ Women are afraid of drunken drivers of automobiles, locomotives, and ships. They chose a sober captain for our Titanic Ship of State and they helped elect him.

“ Women do not minimize the strength of their ancient enemy, but they know they do not fight alone for this great moral issue. An old text fits the present situation and offers the solution: ‘ For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.’

“ Women believe that our Government needs a moral revival based on the Ten Commandments or Prohibitions, leading up to the greatest Commandment—‘ Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbour as thyself ’ with its social implications.

“ In this Crusade women will vote as they pray. They are singing, too, a new song, not the old wail, ‘ Father, dear father, come home with me now,’ but a marching song, ‘ Mother, dear mother, come down to the polls.’ Men do not yet understand this type of woman, a very old type.” This clarion call was heard and heeded.

The Woman’s National Committee for Law Enforcement was active during the presidential campaign. Under its auspices two conventions were held in June, 1928: one in Kansas City at the time of the National Republican Convention and one in Houston, Texas, at the time of the National Demo-

cratic Convention. Their influence was exerted toward the adoption of Dry planks in party platforms and the nomination of Dry candidates. Mrs. Peabody declared that the chief offense of Governor Smith which called for a revolution by the women of the country was in the first article of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776—"He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good."

Herbert C. Hoover, the nominee of the Republican Party, not only accepted the platform of his party but declared that he wished prohibition to succeed. The Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement mobilized its forces in favour of Mr. Hoover and its activity resulted in many church women accepting responsibility for voting, and voting in accordance with their principles.

THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S DEMOCRATIC LAW ENFORCEMENT LEAGUE

This was a strong group of Democratic women organized in January, 1928, because they refused to support the nomination and election of Governor Smith who headed the Democratic ticket. Their chairman was Mrs. Jesse Nicholson of Chevy Chase, Maryland, who had long been identified with the regular Democratic organization. They repudiated Governor Smith as disloyal to his party platform, published a fearless periodical, *The Woman Voter*, during the campaign, and helped greatly in arousing Democratic women all over the

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country to their responsibility of voting for prohibition, a principle for which they had worked and prayed.

THE ANTI-SMITH CAMPAIGN

Women were active also in the Anti-Smith Campaign led by Bishop Cannon, especially in the south. They suffered much abuse and the name "Hoovercrats" still clings to them.

The campaign in which the Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement, the Woman's Democratic Committee for Law Enforcement, and the women who were members of the Anti-Smith Campaign took part demonstrated, when the election results were compiled, that women preferred principle above party, that they were positive in their convictions of right, and antagonistic to policies which controverted these principles.

* * * *

It was the last day of the battle of Waterloo. A slight advantage was with Napoleon. Wellington knew that reserves were on their way under the command of Blücher, and it is said that he waited impatiently, that he frequently consulted his watch, and that he prayed for night or for Blücher. At last the welcome sound of distant artillery brought new courage to Wellington and with the coming of Blücher and the Prussians, Napoleon and his hosts were routed.

For fifty years the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has fought the liquor traffic. In the

heavy fighting since 1920 many times the leaders prayed for the coming of the reserves—the women from the homes and the churches who we knew were only waiting for a crisis. The crisis was at hand and the reserves arrived in time to bring victory.

IX

THE BATTLE OF THE BALLOTS

THE first request women made for Dry planks and Dry platforms was in 1884 when Frances Willard appeared before the Resolutions Committee of the Republican, Democratic, and Prohibition Party national conventions and submitted the request of the White Ribbon women. The petition was called "The memorial of the American home for protection from the American saloon" and was signed by the national officers of the W. C. T. U. It asked all parties to incorporate a plank "to the end that prohibition of the importation, exportation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages may become an integral part of the National Constitution and that your party candidate shall be by character and public pledge committed to a national constitutional prohibitory amendment."

The wording of this proposed plank written almost half a century ago almost parallels the Eighteenth Amendment. It is evidence of the unbending purpose of the women of this country to outlaw the liquor traffic. Frances Willard wrote the petition. Mrs. Stevens, whose name appeared as assistant treasurer of the organization, twenty-

seven years later was president of the National W. C. T. U. and from the city of Portland in the state of Maine issued her famous proclamation calling on the moral forces of the country to rally in a final effort to write prohibition into the Constitution within a decade. Nine and a half years later the Eighteenth Amendment was effective.

Although prohibition planks appeared in many state political platforms, it was not until the women of the country forced the issue in 1928 that both major national political parties carried such planks and not until Herbert Hoover and Governor Alfred E. Smith took positions on opposite sides of the question, did the women of the country have an opportunity to vote on the national aspect of prohibition.

Political managers hoped to keep prohibition out of the national presidential campaign; and they could have done so had both parties nominated friends of prohibition to run on satisfactory Dry planks. Politicians have a way of keeping an issue in the background as long as possible, and for that reason they frowned on the efforts of such leaders as Senator Borah who thus addressed the Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement a full year before the election season of 1928:

"The women alone in this fight can bring the political parties to the support of this constitutional amendment," he said. And he was a true prophet.

However, it was at the convention of the National W. C. T. U. at Minneapolis in the fall of

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1927 that the sentiment of women for Dry planks and Dry candidates was crystallized. That convention unanimously and enthusiastically adopted a platform in the manner of the political parties. The vital political plank read as follows:

“ We pledge the active support of our organization to an active educational campaign to promote law observance; to support enforcement officials and the nomination and election of officials who are the undoubted friends of prohibition and who really care that America shall receive full benefit therefrom.”

In view of the fact that every effort was being made to keep women from injecting this question into national politics, the adoption of this resolution by an organization of women represented by active state organizations in every state and in almost every county in America was electrifying. It was published widely and the convention received telegrams of congratulation and promises of coöperation from other organizations of women interested in prohibition. That resolution became the turning point in current political history. Immediately the women of the W. C. T. U. determined upon a series of campaign conferences; held them in eleven strategic cities from New York to San Francisco, east, west, north, and south. To these conferences went women of all the organizations interested in keeping America Dry with a strong national administration committed to pro-

hibition and prohibition enforcement by officers seriously interested in prohibition.

The aims of these conferences were to focus attention on law observance, to study the problems of law enforcement, and to promote measures for the election of the undoubted friends of prohibition for all offices.

“Prohibition will present problems and will be an unsettled issue” [said an official W. C. T. U. statement at that time] “until both major parties endorse and enforce it. The W. C. T. U. composed of women of both parties is working in both parties to obtain this end, asking for dry planks and the nomination of candidates who are the undoubted friends of prohibition and who desire their country to get the full benefit therefrom.”

These conferences, attended by club women, church women, governors, senators, congressmen, enforcement officers, and politicians, had uniform programs for discussion:

“Why the Wets want to elect the next President” was one of the topics which started on its way through the campaign the well-authorized information that a President has tens of thousands of appointments from the Supreme Court to village postmaster and that even with a bone Dry Congress the appointive power of an anti-prohibition President could make a mockery of the Eighteenth Amendment.

“Wet Propaganda” was the topic discussed in every section. “Practical Politics” was a subject

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which elicited a wealth of splendid advice which was followed closely in the campaign. The conferences adopted a Dry plank to be presented to the major political parties, reading:

“Prohibition is the policy of the United States Government incorporated in the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

“We pledge ourselves to carry out the provisions of the National Prohibition Act, to place enforcement in the hands of its undoubted friends and to support such other legislation as may be necessary to secure full benefit of the prohibition law.”

Long before the first of these conferences was held in New York in January, 1928, it was apparent that the South would not support a Wet candidate and also increasingly apparent that the country had never seen a stronger political drive than that getting under way for Governor Alfred E. Smith. The Democratic women in the W. C. T. U. were distressed at the strength of the growing Smith movement, but they determined, with thousands of others, to put principle above party, and at the cost of social ostracism stood firm against the assaults of the Smith politicians and the “regulars” who put party above principle.

The National Women's Democratic Law Enforcement League met in Washington in January, 1928, to try to stem the tide running so strongly for Smith. Speaking at the gathering Mrs. Edward Thurman Smith said:

"The Democratic Law Enforcement League members are satisfied that the women of these United States will forget every other issue in the next election except the Wet and Dry, because there is in the hearts of these women the conviction that the law could be enforced if those in office desired to enforce it."

It should have been apparent to the Wet leaders that even while the women were organizing and drumming up recruits in the forefront of that famous year of 1928, the Wets in Congress received the worst defeat in the House of Representatives that they had ever suffered since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. For two years the Wet Congressmen carried on a bitter attempt to amend an appropriation act to forbid the use of any Federal funds in the issuance of permits for the use of industrial alcohol known to contain denaturants. The Wets rallied to that outrageously false appeal by declaring "The government is putting poison into the drinkers' liquor"; but despite the noise and clamour and the best offense the Wet politicians could muster in two days, the vote was 137 Drys to 39 Wets. An analysis showed that in six years the Wets in the House of Representatives had lost 31 votes and the Drys had gained 36. It was proof enough that the most responsive elected body in America knew that politically the Dry side was the winning side and it should have been enough to convince the Wet politicians—who seem to die hard.

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At the Republican Convention in Kansas City the Wets received a set-back when Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler's proposal to adopt a plank favouring the repeal of prohibition was tabled on motion of Colonel Fred Dow of Maine, who, by the way, is the son of the author of the Maine prohibition law. The women hailed the Republican platform with joy and knew that the candidates, Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis, were men they could support. Then all eyes turned toward Houston, where the Democrats adopted a strong prohibition plank, immediately abrogated by the telegram of their presidential nominee, Alfred E. Smith, who disregarded the policies of the party as expressed in the platform, and announced himself as favouring the sale of liquor by the government.

If this were not enough to drive away the women of the country, Governor Smith's voting record while a member of the New York Legislature displayed a lifetime of votes in favour of the saloon side of every liquor question he had faced, and the opposition to every effort to remedy the evils of the liquor traffic. No one could expect the home-loving women of the United States to rally to a candidate with his views and his record.

The matter was a serious one for the southern women in the W. C. T. U. It meant abandonment of a party of which they and their forebears had been members for generations; and to discuss the situation, the presidents of eleven W. C. T. U. state organizations from the South met in con-

ference in Nashville, Tennessee, on August 8, 1928. They were aware of a concerted drive by a large section of the southern press to blind the South to the dangers of a Wet candidate. One of the southern W. C. T. U. presidents at the conference exposed the situation: "The present Democratic leadership is in Wet hands and will attempt to prepare the Dry South to accept modification of prohibition under Alfred E. Smith."

These women discussed the matter for two days and then issued a statement containing the reasons why they would not support Governor Smith. It is important in the history of the campaign in the South:

"The W. C. T. U. does not seek to change the party affiliation of any voter.

"We urge the election by both parties of Congressmen who will uphold and strengthen prohibition.

"Because of the announced effort to be made for state determination of alcoholic content of liquors, we urge like emphasis upon the election of Dry members of the state legislatures. The legalized manufacture of liquor would necessitate a place of sale, which would open the way for the return of the saloon, whether or not called by that name.

"We believe that, with Alfred E. Smith as President, there would be an immediate mobilization for the repeal of prohibition. We believe the campaign tactics of the Wet leadership of the Demo-

cratic party are now directed toward reconciling the Dry South to a modification or nullification of prohibition. This is apparent in the appointment as campaign manager of John J. Raskob, one of the leaders of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, who has openly stated: 'I have never been officially affiliated with either the Republican or Democratic parties. Now, however, I see an opportunity of performing some constructive service by helping relieve the country of the damnable affliction of prohibition.'

"To advance his views Mr. Raskob has already started a nation-wide correspondence with delegates to the recent national Democratic convention in an effort to convert the party representatives to his Wet views.

"We are opposed to the repeal or nullification or modification of prohibition because of the tremendous moral, social, and economic benefits of the Eighteenth Amendment. Under prohibition, public health has improved, wealth has increased, poverty has decreased, and the general standard of living has improved throughout the United States.

"The W. C. T. U. is Christian in origin, educational in character, and an organized movement for home protection. Therefore, we recommend a vigorous campaign in support of the principles of prohibition, and for the election of Dry nominees for all offices, national and state."

The W. C. T. U. became for the first time, and

we trust for the last time, a separate and distinct campaign committee, with finance committees for the national and state organizations operating under the Corrupt Practices laws of the state and nation. These women are trained for team work; and the fact that the W. C. T. U. is organized in every state and almost every county made it possible for them to go to work instantly without stopping to debate, argue, and organize. They were at high speed before the national campaign committees had opened offices.

One feature of the W. C. T. U. campaign was the brevity and simplicity of its campaign literature. The greatest single piece of literature the W. C. T. U. used in the campaign was the voting record of Alfred E. Smith on saloon and liquor bills while he was a member of the New York State Legislature. Ten million of these leaflets were distributed. The publishing house of the National W. C. T. U. at Evanston worked day and night during the rush of the campaign and one day the printing presses stopped while the Smith record was being printed because the rubber rolls of the presses had melted with heat!

The Union Signal, the official weekly paper, in editorials, in current events, and in news notes inspired to action, answered promptly untruthful and misleading propaganda, stressed the importance of Get-Out-the-Vote campaigns and pointed out the benefit of prohibition too often relegated to fine print on the inside page of the secular press.

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Every State W. C. T. U. organization publishes a monthly paper which burned and blazed with enthusiasm for the cause, carried ammunition to use against the enemy and gave information to offset the vicious Wet propaganda that had gone abroad in favour of the Wet candidate. Each State W. C. T. U. organization took up the type of work best suited to its capacity and organization. They held rallies, furnished speakers, organized meetings, held outdoor schools for instruction in marking ballots; they established booths at state and county fairs; they held thousands of county conventions and a state convention in every state, each of these meetings being ready-made focal points for the dissemination of information, enthusiasm and inspiration. They distributed more than two million window posters with pictures of Herbert Hoover.

In one state the W. C. T. U. put up bill-boards reading, "The presidential highway must be a dry way"; in other states they made a wide house-to-house canvass to make sure every Dry voter registered and voted; nearly nine thousand local publicity women kept national headquarters in touch with the newspaper sentiment in their towns and in return got the benefit of a clearing house of political information that harassed the Wet writers of "Letters to the Editor."

The Wets ridiculed the work of the W. C. T. U. unmercifully. For the first time in history the Wet press became abusive to American women

working for a principle. Every effort was made in the South by the Wet press to make it so hard for the W. C. T. U. women that they would discontinue their efforts. The White Ribboners were ostracized socially, snubbed publicly, but still they kept on with the crusade spirit which would not be downed.

In Oklahoma, for instance, the Wet Democrats played a trick upon the W. C. T. U. which, while it made considerable national publicity, had no effect on the results either in state or nation. A W. C. T. U. organizer went to Idabell, Oklahoma, and organized a local union with about fifty members. The Wet politicians in town prepared the trick in advance by giving a dollar apiece to some of the women in their families and telling them to go to the meeting and join the union. As soon as these temporary White Ribboners had joined, they repaired quickly, even before a single meeting had been held, to the office of a local politician and adopted resolutions favouring Governor Smith and opposing prohibition. Of course this was done for the benefit of the newspapers which made it one of the political features of the day. The local Idabell paper used its largest and blackest type and it was seized upon with glee all over the country where the story was sent through a local representative of a national press association.

The Democratic National Committee issued a statement containing what appeared to be a letter from a W. C. T. U. woman in a little town in

Missouri. It was stated that she was the mother of ten children. It was a long and fervid argument against prohibition on the plea that prohibition was ruining children. The town was searched down to the grass roots without success to find this woman or to find some one who had ever heard of her. No such woman had ever belonged to the W. C. T. U. and no one claimed her acquaintance. Efforts to locate her any place else in Missouri or elsewhere were unsuccessful.

The Wet press delighted in publishing absolutely false stories of W. C. T. U. women alleged to have gone over to Smith. At one time the New York papers published a list of thirteen such women. Five or six of these women could never be located as members of the W. C. T. U. and the others were not W. C. T. U. leaders and in some instances had not gone over to Governor Smith. On the other hand every state organization of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, every state president, every state officer, every state leader, led a solid phalanx of voters for Herbert Hoover right up to the polls.

Eighteen state presidents who were enrolled as members of the Democratic party, some of them state and county committee-women, campaigned for Mr. Hoover, and urged their constituencies and all women interested in prohibition and home protection to vote for him, not because he was the candidate of the Republican party, but because

he represented a real principle, and he wished prohibition to succeed.

Never was the country more stirred by a presidential campaign. Women were especially stirred because prohibition was their issue. Not all women had taken advantage of the Nineteenth Amendment by voting at previous elections. They were not vitally concerned with the usual issues, but they were concerned with this one.

This campaign brought politics into the home. Herbert Hoover said: "Prohibition was enacted for the protection of the home." He further said, "I want it to succeed." And the women registered, many of them for the first time, and went to the polls. They pushed aside all other campaign issues.

Did you listen in over the radio election night? Did you hear the announcer give the first returns? Did your heart sink as he told of Smith's vote in New York City, and other Wet centers? Then do you remember the very moment when there was a change, and Hoover votes were in the lead? Then, almost like the turning over of a hand, the announcer said, "*The New York Times* and the *New York World* will to-morrow announce the election of Herbert Hoover."

To the women of the nation this meant that prohibition had been sustained. The news was flashed around the world that Herbert Hoover had been elected President by a tremendous majority. Cablegrams from Japan, England, and India,

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letters from all over the world interpreted the election as a victory for prohibition.

At the National W. C. T. U. Convention in Boston the following week a praise meeting in historic King's Chapel, attended by women from every state, voiced heartfelt thanks to God for a great victory which He alone could have brought about; it came in answer to united prayer.

Immediately there were questionings and our opponents endeavoured to inspire doubts. Would the President make good? Some Wets had voted for him; would he yield to the demands of certain Wet leaders?

Inauguration day came. The great crowd assembled in front of the Capitol was tense with excitement. Would Mr. Hoover ignore prohibition? Would he say nothing on an issue that had rallied the women of the nation to his support, and broken the "Solid South"? We soon knew, for in the very first section of his inaugural address he accepted his responsibility for law enforcement and he also placed upon the people responsibility for law observance. In less than ten minutes from the time he had taken the oath of office the whole world knew that prohibition was safe in his hands.

And he will make good. It will not be easy. He will need the active support of Christian people, and that support will be doubly effective if organized. It is a challenge to the women of America to work as never before to help prohibition to succeed. Prohibition must have its chance and what-

ever other people may do in addition, organized women must stand for law observance, and support the President in his plans for law enforcement.

We do not ask impossibilities; we do expect that the responsibility for enforcement will be placed in the hands of those who want prohibition to succeed, and we pledge to the task a continued campaign of education for law observance, the mobilizing of the youth to obey the law, and our votes for legislators who live Dry and vote Dry.

Prohibition won in the battle of the ballots, and women will not desert their issue.

X

TEMPERANCE WOMEN IN OTHER LANDS

A LITTLE girl whose father and mother were jointly interested in Christian work, on returning from school one day said, "I don't like history." "Why?" asked the mother. The child answered, "It is all about men. There is nothing in it about women." It is a fact that until women organized in societies of their own, there was little to record of woman's work except where women ruled their countries as queens. Individual women have, however, left their imprint on their communities and even on nations. This little girl knew only a world where men and women worked side by side. In the temperance field in many lands men led in the early years.

The Woman's Crusade which called the women of the United States into united action, inspired the women of other lands. Mrs. Letitia Yeomans of Picton, Ontario, Canada, was at Chautauqua in 1874, and attended the first convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Cleveland, Ohio. Inspired by what she saw and heard, she organized a local W. C. T. U. in Picton. Other

unions were framed later, but not until 1877 were these scattering organizations united in the Ontario Provincial Union. Mrs. Yeomans often visited the United States, filling lecture engagements and Miss Willard and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw visited Ontario for the same purpose.

The Dominion W. C. T. U. of Canada was organized in 1883 at Ottawa, by delegates from the provinces of Ontario, Ottawa, and Quebec, with Mrs. Yeomans as president. The activities of women's temperance work in Canada are similar to those of the women in the United States, limited in some parts of the Dominion by long distances and sparse population.

Now all the provinces are organized, and Mrs. Gordon Wright has been president since 1907. Steadfastly during the years these women have supported total abstinence, have promoted temperance instruction in the schools, have worked to increase Dry areas. They have made it clear that prohibition in Canada never prohibited the manufacture, transportation, or importation of intoxicating liquors, but that the provinces could only prohibit the sale within their own territory. The breweries and distilleries continued to manufacture, and the railroads, trucks, and boats to transport.

Taking advantage of the dissatisfaction with these conditions, the provinces, one by one, adopted government control, each a different kind. Mrs. Wright thus summarizes the results of government control:

"We have at least demonstrated that there is not, nor indeed can be Government Control of the liquor traffic. Invariably and inevitably it controls and debauches the Government making the attempt. It is Government Sale, Government Partnership, Government Subjugation.

"Without fear of successful contradiction we assert that so-called Government Control has meant in Canada a great economic wastage which has retarded prosperity's progress.

"We further assert that more liquor is to-day consumed in our Government Sale Provinces than has been under any other system.

"Infinitely more drinking among young men—also young women—than ever under license. Statistics unquestionably prove that there has been a positive increase in vice and crime directly traceable to drink in the Provinces which discarded their prohibition laws. And further, every Province under this system bears testimony to the fact that 'Bootlegging' and illicit trade is larger than under prohibition or even the old license system.

"To the people of the United States may we be privileged to say, hold fast to your great constitutional amendment—prohibition. Rich as you may be in natural and material resources your nation-wide prohibition law is your most valuable asset and in its wake—properly enforced—will surely flow streams of life and healing and peace to you as a nation and a people, and the world at large noting your increased material prosperity, your intellectual advance, and heightened moral standards, will eventually follow 'hard after.'"

The women of Great Britain, inspired by the story of the Crusade and the lecture trips of

Mother Stewart and Mrs. Mary C. Johnson, organized two national organizations in 1876: the one for England and Wales took the name of the British Women's Temperance Association—now known as the British Women's Total Abstinence Union; the other in Scotland was the Scottish Branch of the British Women's Temperance Association. Under able leadership and with increasing membership, the many-sided work of the temperance reform is being carried on. In round numbers the membership in Canada is 25,000; in England, 200,000; in Scotland, 65,000.

The idea of building an organization of women around the world came to Miss Willard in 1883 while on the Pacific Coast, and she told of her vision of a united womanhood for home protection. She followed it by a recommendation for the formation of an International Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The next year the plan had progressed far enough to have a name—the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Miss Willard said:

“This great endeavour to belt the world with an organization whose key-note is gospel temperance can have no basis so sure as a union of Christian womanhood in prayer.

“In working up this enterprise we must carefully study the adaptation of methods to varying climates and nationalities, no less than to prevailing habits of brain poison.”

The next step was the sending out of Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt of Boston as first Round-the-World Missionary. Round-the-world trips were not so common then as now. The journey was undertaken on faith, without even a guarantee of expenses, though it was backed with an appeal for free-will offerings. Mrs. Leavitt was confident that in the missionaries and Christian people she would find cordial sympathy with her work, but in the nine years which it took to complete the trip, she saw not a single person whom she had seen before. She carried with her the Polyglot Petition and presented it in forty nations. She went out without purse or scrip, not knowing whither she went. The money—for there had to be money—came from everywhere but mostly from the homeland. Again we quote from Miss Willard: "She changed the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union from a purpose and a hope to a reality." Others followed: Mary Allen West, Clara Parish (Wright) and Ruth Davis (Stevens) to Japan; Alice Palmer to South Africa; Mrs. J. K. Barney and Katherine Lente Stevenson in round-the-world journeyings. Miss Christine Tinling of England spent five years teaching scientific temperance in China; Mrs. Helen Stoddard, Mrs. Addie Northam Fields and Mrs. Nelle G. Burger carried the message to Mexico; Deborah Knox Livingston to South Africa; Mrs. Mary Harris Armor to New Zealand. Miss Hardynia Norville has been the representative of the World's W. C. T. U. in South America since

1914. Miss Flora Strout served in Burma and the Straits Settlements for many years and undertook the work in Brazil in 1925.

Miss Willard herself was almost as much beloved by our friends in England as at home. Her many visits strengthened the bond of comradeship.

Lady Henry Somerset paid two visits to the United States, and made her contribution to the friendship between the United States and England.

Miss Agnes E. Slack of England has visited the United States several times, made a trip to India in the interest of the temperance cause, organized the W. C. T. U. in Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania, and her recent trip to Egypt and Palestine has resulted in greatly strengthened national organizations.

Miss Emilie Solomon of South Africa toured Australia with the message of gospel temperance.

Miss Anna A. Gordon has crossed the ocean thirty-four times in the interest of the World's W. C. T. U. She has visited most of the countries of Europe. Of her trip to South America we quote from Bishop George A. Miller of the Methodist Episcopal Church for Latin America, then resident in Chile, in a letter to the *Christian Advocate*:

“When an official representative of the W. C. T. U. is given a reception equal to that of an international diplomat, there is reason for faith in the spirit of feminism and temperance in Chile. Times have changed, and no recent event has marked the change more conspicuously than the public and

private welcome extended to Anna Adams Gordon on her recent visit to South American countries in the interest of the white ribbon crusade. 'Tell all your readers that this is the greatest woman who ever came to Chile' directed the enthusiastic university professor to the leading daily paper of Santiago, the capital city. Having spent part of two days with Miss Gordon, listening to her public addresses and talking over her plans and ideals, this leading national educator stood ready to use his every influence to further her cause. And he was but one of many."

By this interchange of workers, international friendships begun and continued by foreign missionaries have been cemented.

It is interesting to see how the national women's organizations have adapted their work to the special needs of each nation.

In Japan the special work is among the children in the schools and in the interests of social purity. No story of the work in this country would be complete without calling attention to the work of Madam Yajima. Madam Yajima was the product of foreign missions. She served as president of the National W. C. T. U. of Japan for twenty-five years. She crossed two oceans and a continent in 1920 to attend the World's Convention in London, England, at which she celebrated her eighty-eighth birthday. It was interesting to watch her during the celebration. She listened for three-quarters of an hour while many fine things were said about her work. She could not understand a word of

English. Finally, unable to control her enthusiasm longer, she rose to her feet and for fifteen minutes spoke in Japanese, not one word of which we could understand but from her manner and her intonation we knew of the inward zeal which had inspired the long journey. She returned home. Two years later she came back to America bearing with her a peace petition signed by ten thousand Japanese women. She personally presented this to President Harding. For her expenses on this trip she used money that had been given her in celebration of her birthday.

In China the work is led by Mrs. Frances Wang Liu. She too was a product of a mission school. Educated at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, a protégée of Miss Gordon, she is leading the women of China in welfare work along many lines, including work for the children, work for women, and a work for beggars.

In Australia the six states are organized. A national organization has functioned through two prohibition campaigns. Their failure to win was in a large measure caused by Wet propaganda from the United States to the effect that prohibition was a failure, but they are not discouraged and will try again.

New Zealand is well organized and they too are working for national prohibition.

India keeps five native organizers busy and includes work against opium as one of its major activities.

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In addition to the usual activities, South Africa promotes the use of raisins as an outlet for their grape crop. They observe Raisin Week each year and publish a cook book with recipes for the use of raisins.

Switzerland is promoting the manufacture and use of unfermented fruit juices.

Germany is sending out traveling teachers to teach scientific temperance in the schools, half of the expenses being borne by the government.

France is alarmed by its decreasing birth rate and there, special emphasis is placed on the pre-natal effects of the use of alcohol and on the training of mothers against giving it to children.

In Scotland the activities center around increasing Dry areas.

In Ulster (Ireland), there is advance through Sunday closing.

In England the work among children and young people is emphasized.

In Canada the W. C. T. U. continues its campaign of education.

In all the Scandinavian countries total abstinence is gaining ground.

In all countries we find Wet propaganda against prohibition a hindrance to temperance work. Such propaganda gives a wrong impression of the accomplishments of prohibition, for few of its benefits to the United States find their way in the foreign press.

Accordingly, in the United States we have estab-

lished what we call "Light Line Unions" with a two-fold purpose: to gain money for the World's work, and to spread abroad the facts in regard to the temperance reform. Most of the members of the W. C. T. U. are members of their own missionary societies. Once each year each union is asked to invite all members of missionary societies in all the churches to attend a W. C. T. U. meeting at which some phase of the world-wide work for temperance may be presented. From the offering at this meeting five dollars is sent to the treasurer of the World's W. C. T. U. and a dollar and a half to the Publishing House for a copy of *The Union Signal* to be sent to some foreign missionary. This makes the local union a Light Line Union and entitles its representative to carry a candle in the Light Line procession at state and national conventions. Last year one thousand unions became Light Line Unions. This meant five thousand dollars for spreading gospel temperance around the world and one thousand copies of *The Union Signal* in the homes of a thousand missionaries. Valuable as the money is, and it is needed, more valuable is the fact that in the homes of a thousand missionaries there is a paper which tells the truth about prohibition in America and answers the untruthful propaganda broadcast through many newspapers.

The outstanding fact, however, is that in fifty-one nations women are working for home protection, many times under great difficulties, and the W. C. T. U. of the United States is helping them

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through money, through literature, and through coöperation, to solve some of their problems.

The contribution of World's Conventions to international friendship cannot be estimated. These conventions, which are held triennially, bring a surprising number of delegates and visitors. Thirteen World's Conventions have been held including the first in Boston in 1892; five in the United States, one in Canada, two in England, two in Switzerland and three in Scotland. The presidents have been Margaret Bright Lucas, England; Frances E. Willard, United States; Lady Henry Somerset, England; Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle, England; Anna A. Gordon, United States.

It is a wonderful thing for the women of the world to be together for a week, to sit together in meetings, to meet each other socially, to learn of the life and customs of other lands, and to hear other languages. At the last convention in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1928, three languages were used—French, German and English. At the Sunday morning service held in the Cathedral there were three short Gospel talks, one in French, one in German and one in English. They sang together "Nearer My God to Thee," each delegate in her own language, and repeated the Lord's Prayer reverently, each in her own language. Difference in language is no bar to unity of purpose.

The eagerness to learn the facts about prohibition and its enforcement, the desire to know the methods employed to win prohibition, the zeal

to learn how to perfect the organization of women, were inspiring.

One night at a World's Convention in Edinburgh, Scotland, there was a mass meeting that filled the great hall. Fifty women spoke, representing nearly as many nations. The next day two Scotchmen met in a tramcar. One said to the other, "Have you been up to the Woman's Convention?" "No," said the other. "Well, you ought to go," said the first. "It is the most wonderful convention you ever saw. Last night fifty women spoke in fifty minutes; it's a wonderful convention." It is a wonderful thing to share in a conference where Christian women of many nations are united in a common purpose—to promote the Kingdom of God.

One day of the Lausanne convention was spent at Geneva. The delegates from thirty-five nations visited the Secretariat of the League of Nations. They saw books which contained copies of the two thousand treaties between nations already filed there. They were gratified to learn of the work already being done to stop the international traffic in girls, and they visioned the time when the study of the traffic in alcohol and the protection of the home, as well as the protection of native races, would be considered by committees and become matters of international agreement. They foresaw the time when the slogan of the Peace Department will prevail throughout the world—"Between the nations no more war; within the nations no more drink."

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The World's W. C. T. U. could not exist without the support of Christian men and women in all these lands, any more than the National W. C. T. U. could exist without the Christian women who belong. God called women into this special service. He will continue to lead and He will help women to measure up to their responsibilities.

XI

THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT WILL NOT BE REPEALED

THE Eighteenth Amendment will stand. It was ratified by the legislatures of forty-six states.

Forty-three states are coöperating with the government in law enforcement through state enforcement codes.

The National Prohibition Act was passed by a two-thirds vote of the Congress over the veto of President Wilson.

The election of Herbert C. Hoover as President showed the undercurrent of the American public in favour of prohibition.

The passage of the Jones-Stalker Bill by the Seventieth Congress was for the purpose of strengthening enforcement legislation.

In his inaugural President Hoover stressed that while it was his duty to enforce the law, it was the duty of the public to obey the law.

The trend of public opinion is toward better enforcement and the real thinkers in America recognize law observance as an essential factor.

Prohibition was enacted by the orderly processes of government; these processes have been sustained

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by Supreme Court decisions. Its enforcement will be enhanced by the same orderly processes.

Law observance helps law enforcement.

A Wet press keeps alive a loud opposition to prohibition, which seems to grow sharper in tone as the opposition decreases in area. There has been a running fight against prohibition since 1920, the main assault coming to a disastrous defeat for the Wets in the election of President Hoover on a bone dry platform and the election of the Seventy-first Congress which has a greater number of Dry members than any previous national legislature. This assault against the Eighteenth Amendment gathered strength for a grand attack in the spring of 1926 when the Wet organizations forced a hearing in the Senate Judiciary Committee on their proposals to repeal or modify prohibition. The Wets, led by the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, paraded their strength and exposed their strongest arguments, which of course were refuted by facts presented by the Dry organizations. A feature of this hearing was the tremendous number of women favouring not less but more prohibition. The committee which heard the arguments reported to the Senate that it believed the Eighteenth Amendment to be "morally right and economically wise." It further reported, "There is no provision in the Constitution for a national referendum on amendments to the Federal Constitution" and failed to report any of the bills providing for repeal or modification. "Such a

verdict," says Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, "was hardly calculated to encourage the Wets."

Wet propagandists, however, used the publicity arising from the hearings to launch a political attack on prohibition in an effort to elect a Wet majority in the Seventieth Congress and to repeal the state prohibition laws of several states. Congress is increasingly Dry as each election passes by; and so far the Wets have been able to repeal state prohibition enforcement laws in only four states: New York, Nevada, Montana, Wisconsin. Maryland never had a state enforcement code. Forty-three states have state enforcement codes. The major victories belong to the Drys. The Dry declarations of both national political parties, the rallying of the women to Herbert Hoover, his election by the largest number of electoral and popular votes ever cast, the enactment of the Jones-Stalker Law, the straightforward pronouncements of President Hoover in his inaugural address and in his address to the Associated Press in New York, the general acceptance by the business world and by economists and educators that prohibition is a distinct advantage, all taken together, are too much for the Wets who, in the first months of the Hoover administration, have organized a violent counter-attack in order to regain their lost ground. This attack forms sensational copy for the Wet press.

It is just at this point in the year 1929 that I now write, and I identify the time and place in the swiftly moving tide of history, otherwise it may

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make it difficult for those who come afterward to know exactly what is being talked about.

After this tremendous advance by the Dry sentiment of the United States it is interesting to read the bold prediction of the leader of the A. A. P. A., after a few days of the Hoover administration, that the Eighteenth Amendment will be repealed or completely nullified within five years. That means before the end of 1933. Probably the wish is father to the thought. The Eighteenth Amendment will not be taken from the Constitution, and the policy of nullification of the Constitution has never been successful in America.

The Wet opposition does not take into consideration the deep undercurrent of opposition to the re-establishment of the legalized liquor traffic in this country. Herbert Hoover voiced that opposition when he said: "The purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment is to protect the American home." He gathered millions of women to his support when he added: "I wish it to succeed."

To defeat Herbert Hoover on this declaration, the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment spent nearly half a million dollars in support of Alfred E. Smith. Following the election of Herbert Hoover, the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment continued its anti-Hoover policy by inaugurating a propaganda of criticism against the President's efforts at enforcement. The Wets would like to make it appear that no one can enforce prohibition, that at heart Herbert Hoover

really desires a modification or repeal of prohibition, but there is nothing in his life story, public or private, to give basis to any such theory. Under President Hoover prohibition will be enforced as well as he can enforce it, and it is the obligation of those who put Mr. Hoover in the White House to help and not hinder him.

In his inaugural address Mr. Hoover said that part of the abuses that have grown up under the Eighteenth Amendment "are due to the failure of some states to accept their full share of responsibility for concurrent enforcement, and the failure of many state and local officials to accept the obligation under their oath of office zealously to enforce the laws." This was a direct hit at the Wet policy of undermining the Constitution by trying to remove its support state by state.

President Hoover made one great move in his inaugural address. He pointed his finger at the individual who patronizes the bootlegger and put a large share of responsibility upon him. He said:

"For our citizens to patronize the violator of a particular law on the ground that they are opposed to it is destructive of the very basis of all that protection of life, of homes and property which they rightly claim under the law. *If citizens do not like a law, their duty as honest men and women is to discourage its violation; their right is openly to work for its repeal.*"

President Hoover, as is plainly seen, put in the

foreground of his pronouncement of policies in his inaugural address the proposition that the obligation of law observance is as sacredly binding upon the citizen as law enforcement is binding upon the President. With his characteristic directness, he made it plain enough to be understood by even those who are in the habit of being obtuse when they do not wish to know, that no person would fit into his administration who was not heartily loyal to the Constitution to which every appointee swears full allegiance.

The Wets, however, took little notice of the President's inaugural address except to quote the closing words which I have italicized. This they took as the text for their work of nullification and their spread of the policy of disobedience. Nowhere in any of the propaganda of the Wet organizations or of any enemy of the Eighteenth Amendment can there be found the slightest attempt to influence the public toward observance of the law or to influence the individual to leave intoxicating liquor alone. There has been no attempt on the part of any Wet organization to heed the words of President Hoover when he reminded them that their duty is to discourage law violation.

The Wets, of course, have the legal right to work for the repeal of a law but they have not the moral right to engender disrespect for law by propaganda based on destructive criticism. The men and women of this country should join with the President in a constructive educational movement for

personal observance of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Wet organizations are not working openly for the repeal of any law but are undermining the Constitution in a species of nullification entirely opposed to American ideals. They are appealing to the mob, they are working for government by hysteria or referenda rather than by Constitution and their chief aim is the reestablishment of the liquor business.

The people of this country have outlawed the liquor traffic. They said so in the Eighteenth Amendment; they said it when forty-six states ratified the amendment, when only thirty-six were required; they arranged for its enforcement in the adoption of the Volstead Law by a two-thirds vote over the veto of President Wilson; they said it again in the adoption of the Jones-Stalker Law which is the answer of a large majority of the friends of prohibition to the criticisms and ridicule of the Wets who declared that Uncle Sam was not big enough to deal with the bootlegger.

It is impossible to gain an accurate view of the attack on prohibition because of the distorted news in many newspapers concerning prohibition events. There is evidently an effort being made to arouse the American people against the Federal government and against the kind of justice meted out in Federal courts. Typical of the propaganda is the vicious attack made upon Herbert Hoover over the shoulders of Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt.

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Typical also is the attempt to make the pirate captain of the "I'm Alone" a hero, a John Paul Jones, or a Decatur. The Wets made much more of the case than the British Empire.

There is nothing in the attitude of individual states to-day which is much different from the attitude of the individual states prior to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. The Wets make a great deal out of Maryland, New York, Montana, Nevada, and Wisconsin. Those states were Wet states before prohibition. Wisconsin is a Wet state but its Wet majority in the 1929 referendum is not so great a majority as it cast for beer in 1926. The Wets utilize the names of these states over and over again, completely overlooking the fact that these states are the exception, and that forty-three states have state enforcement codes and are co-operating with the Federal government in law enforcement.

The death rate from alcoholism in Dry states is much lower than the national average which is brought up by the non-enforcement states of New York, Maryland, and Montana. The misuse of statistics by the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment is no better demonstrated than in the one-sided presentation of alcoholism statistics.

Before the war, deaths from alcoholism over a national area were 5.6 per 100,000. To-day they are about 4 per 100,000. In about twenty-five of the Dry states where prohibition is respected and enforced to a greater degree than elsewhere, alco-

holism as a cause of death is about one-third of what it was in the saloon era. On the other hand, it is leaping skyward in New York City, in New York State, and in the state of Maryland. There is certainly no reason for any one to be talking about the blessings of the return of the liquor traffic after examining the facts in the case of New York and Maryland. Montana is another state whose alcohol death rate shot skyward immediately after the state repealed its enforcement code.

Another misuse of figures is found in the widely advertised poll in the state of Delaware. One of the most prominent of the Wets circulated a hundred thousand questionnaires in Delaware and got answers back from about one-third of them. Of this number 31,603 were Wet and 4,977 were Dry. This looks like an overwhelming Wet sentiment in Delaware until one realizes that the state cast about 70,000 for Hoover and about 31,000 for Smith and that the 31,000 Wet votes were evidently the Alfred E. Smith strength in that state. The Drys did not answer the questionnaire, realizing its futility.

There is one tremendous oversight on the part of the organized Wet interests. They overlook the fact that the majority of business men in this country and that a majority of the manufacturers and that all of the economists of note firmly believe that prohibition is a fundamental element in the present prosperity. This alone could prevent taking prohibition out of the Constitution.

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The leading analyst who has made the statement officially that prohibition is responsible in large measure for our prosperity is Herbert Hoover, when he was Secretary of Commerce under President Coolidge. It was repeated by his successor. It has been driven home by Professor Irving Fisher of Yale; by Roger Babson who has gone into detail to show how the tremendous amount of money that was once spent over the bar has been absorbed in expanding valuable industries instead of the liquor industry which enriched no one except a few owners of distilleries and breweries. At a recent annual gathering of the leading economists of America no one could be found to oppose prohibition from the economic side.

Foreign nations are looking at America's progress of prohibition with jealous eyes. While the governments of Europe may feel that their people were too fond of alcoholic liquor to permit the American style of prohibition, nevertheless there is a grave undercurrent of concern on the part of individuals who have the responsibility of government abroad because they know and many of them have said so officially, that Dry America will remain in control of the leading international commercial position as long as the people are sober.

Canada at this moment is trying out more than half a dozen different kinds of so-called government control of the liquor traffic which in reality is control of the government by liquor interests. In general the Canadian idea started out with the

theory that if the public had beer and light wine, it would not ask for strong drink; and if this beer and wine could be sold at government stations, everything would be all right. The actual fact is that more and more hard liquor is being sold. Bootleggers defy all government regulations as to hours of sale and individuals to whom sales can be made; and while the saloon by that name has not reappeared, there are so-called clubs and taverns and gathering places where liquor is sold by the glass. Drunkenness is increasing and Canada is suffering with every one of the old evils of the saloon era. Wherever there is alcoholic liquor sold, there is the spirit of the saloon.

Many believe the speakeasy and the bootlegger are the only result of prohibition and that they came into being with prohibition. Of course that is not true because wherever an attempt has been made to limit or regulate the manufacture or sale of liquor there has immediately arisen a criminally-minded aggregation who have spent their entire time finding out ways to evade the law. It is a well-remembered fact that more than a quarter of a million slaves were smuggled into this country after the American people had voiced their opposition to the importation of slaves and Congress had enacted strict laws against it.

It is not logical to call attention to the vast number of speakeasies which are said to flourish in New York State and declare as a conclusion that prohibition is a failure and therefore we should repeal

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the Eighteenth Amendment. Two Presidents of the United States have pointed out New York State as the outstanding example of non-coöperation and non-enforcement of the law. One good way to get rid of speakeasies would be to close them under the law. If the state of New York had not withdrawn from the peace officers of the state the exercise of the concurrent power granted under the Eighteenth Amendment and if this power had been used to enforce the law, the speakeasy would never have operated.

Wherever there is liquor, either legal or illegal, there also will be crime, vice, and unclean politics. When people realize it is alcoholic liquor that causes the trouble, they will be willing to join with the W. C. T. U. in the statement that "Prohibition is the Best Method of Dealing with the Liquor Traffic."

Chicago's criminal element, with its bombings and "rackets," has given that city a bad reputation, all of which is laid at the door of prohibition by the Wets. "Repeal prohibition and we would not have these outrages," they say. Of course, Chicago was a snug harbour for criminals of the worst sort long before prohibition. When there were nine thousand open, well-located public saloons, the situation was so bad that Chicago created a Vice Commission to get at the root of the trouble. The report of this commission, I am told, was not allowed to be circulated through the mails, so disgraceful were the disclosures of the intimate connection between the

liquor traffic and organized vice. It was reported by that commission that the saloon was responsible for the dereliction of thousands of young girls; and yet we now find on the side of the Wets many of the same politicians who, in the saloon days, opposed the W. C. T. U. in its efforts to stop the sale of liquor to young women by saloons. "Prohibition has demoralized the young people," say these saloon politicians who never before seemed to have the slightest regard for the morals of youth.

Chicago, in common with hundreds of other towns, went through an experience with crooked politicians who catered to the criminal element. Following a year or two of the Thompson régime the people had a resurgence of civic consciousness and elected a prosecuting attorney who swore to put the bootleggers out of business and the crooked politicians in jail. At the time I write he is succeeding; and the authorities of that city all know that bootlegging on a large scale is no longer the occupation of the underworld in Chicago. Many criminals in Chicago have been sentenced under the Illinois prohibition law which the bootleggers and the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment seek to repeal.

The gangster situation, typical of the crime of to-day, is not so bad as similar situations in the larger cities a quarter of a century ago. New York went through with its struggle with saloon-ridden, gang-infested politics thirty years ago. Chicago had even a worse time of it until a reform government

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took hold about twenty years ago. For proof of these statements one should read the daily and weekly literature of 1897 and 1909. Every news writer and every magazine author delving into the reason for the crime and misery and corruption of the early nineteen hundreds put the blame on liquor. That is one reason why the American people prohibited the liquor traffic; and now that it is prohibited, a majority of the American people are in favour of enforcing the prohibition laws; and at present the United States has a President who is of the same opinion.

The inconsistency of the Wet opposition to prohibition is nowhere more plainly seen than in the case of the Jones-Stalker Law. The National Prohibition Act, popularly called the Volstead Law, had milder penalties than many of the state prohibition laws which had preceded national prohibition. In the year prior to the enactment of the Jones-Stalker Law the average sentence for violators of the National Prohibition Act was thirty-four days and the average fine was one hundred and twenty dollars. The Wets ridiculed enforcement of the prohibition law by saying that the bootleggers were not afraid of it; and in this they probably spoke the truth because the Department of Justice recommended the enactment of a strong and simple law, and in pursuance of this suggestion, Congress by an overwhelming majority passed the Jones-Stalker Act which provides penalties of imprisonment up to five years and fines up to ten

thousand dollars. Although the Wets in Congress had been ridiculing the idea of enforcing prohibition, as soon as the Jones-Stalker Bill got into debate they raised a howl of opposition which was almost hysterical. When President Coolidge signed the bill, he made it plain that this measure would permit the authorities to deport alien violators of the prohibition law; the government made it known that its policies under these new penalties would be to break up the criminal operations of the rich underworld bootlegger. In spite of this necessary law enforcement measure, the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment and allied organizations set up active propaganda against its success. Inasmuch as this law is directed at one of the largest criminal undertakings in the country, it is impossible to understand why men and women who call themselves intelligent and law-abiding can interfere with the efforts of the government against crime.

The Jones-Stalker Law increasing penalties for bootleggers is aimed at the criminal organization which has grown strong and defiant under the protection of Wet propaganda. The only persons who are sought for punishment by the Jones-Stalker Law are bootleggers. The only persons who are opposing the Jones-Stalker Law are bootleggers, and the various Wet organizations, and some who have been misled by them. Before the passage of the Jones-Stalker Law the Wets said, "You can't enforce prohibition with these silly penalties." Now

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that the government has an adequate penalty, the Wets object to it on the ground that it is too severe on the bootleggers.

This country wants law enforcement and this country will have it. American justice has not failed; but there will be a complete failure of the Wet organizations to have their way in government, for their way leads to anarchy.

Since President Hoover's election the Wet propagandists have put forward every possible effort to accentuate either real or alleged lawlessness on the part of officials in enforcing the laws. The American nation as a whole need not fear that the Federal government will become an aggregation of Cossacks riding down an innocent populace, cutting, shooting, and burning, regardless of law, as some of the Wet propagandists are charging. Nor can this government be shaken from its foundations by the reiterations of the organized Wet propagandists in a few individual cases which they can bring forward as samples of oppression. Nor can professional Wet agitators shake either the Constitution or the Supreme Court by the kind of assaults which are now being made, any more than the trouble-makers could shake the Supreme Court in the days of John Marshall. Prohibition was enacted by the orderly processes of government and the government should be supported in enforcement by these same orderly processes.

Prohibition has had too great a beneficent effect upon the American nation and the American

people, to be repealed in favour of the liberalization of the liquor laws. The whole standard of American living has been raised through the benefits under the Eighteenth Amendment. The American home is brighter, better, more homelike, and there is more joy in the lives of the average American family because of prohibition. It is this increase in blessings to the individual, multiplied millions of times, which makes the American people think very seriously before they will vote for a President or a legislative majority which will repeal prohibition.

The fundamental necessity in the war against alcoholic liquor is personal education, and it is in this field that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has been foremost for fifty-five years. At present the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is engaged in a larger educational work than ever before.

Through Youth's Roll Call young people are being enrolled for law observance. The children of to-day through the public schools are being taught the effects of alcohol on the human system. In the last three years 1,500,000 public school children have engaged in temperance essay contests.

The educational work in the public schools of the era preceding prohibition educated the great mass of the people in the evils of liquor. The present common sense attitude of educators toward liquor is well expressed by a jury of educators in Chicago:

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“In the age of the automobile and the airplane intoxication has no place. The jury feels that our law enforcement agencies ought to be encouraged, by both private individuals and social institutions, to fulfill with great vigour their obligations to enforce the laws.”

In the interest of good government, social welfare, economic prosperity and public safety, the Eighteenth Amendment will not be repealed.

XII

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WE believe prohibition is the best method of dealing with the liquor traffic. We appeal to the American public to give it a chance by obeying the law voluntarily. We appeal to the press for loyalty to the Constitution and editorial support of this method adopted after long years of education and by the orderly processes of government. We appeal to that patriotism which rallies to the support of the government when it is attacked by a foreign foe, to rally to the support of the government when attacked by a foe from within.

We did not believe that enforcement would be bettered if placed in the hands of its enemies, in the hands of those who wanted to destroy or nullify it. Therefore we entered into politics with the single purpose of electing a Dry President and Vice-President, and Dry members of Congress, that enforcement might be placed in the hands of those who wanted to make it a success and legislation entrusted to a Congress which would conserve the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act.

With increased emphasis, we continue our educational work to the end that the people may will-

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ingly obey the law, and the officials may be supported in the performance of their duties.

Give prohibition its chance. Law enforcement is a question of politics and citizenship. The honest efforts of officials charged with the responsibility for law enforcement should be supported by the pulpit, the press and the people, but the United States will not receive full benefit of the law unless the pulpit, the press and the people support law observance as well. By this we mean the spirit as well as the letter of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The object of prohibition was to protect the American home from the drink traffic and the drink habit.

The drink traffic is an outlaw.

The drink habit remains and this is created and fostered by the use of alcoholic liquors whether they are sold legally or illegally. The drink habit must be destroyed. It can only be destroyed by total abstinence. I hereby call upon all women to discourage through a campaign of education the use of intoxicating liquor. Not every one knows that alcohol is a narcotic poison which taken in small quantities has the power to create the appetite for more. We must explain that there is a reason for the prohibition of the beverage traffic in intoxicating liquors and with renewed emphasis we must bring the teaching of science to our aid to promote willing obedience to the law. We must continue to show the effect of alcohol on child welfare. We must make it clear that money spent

for drink too often robs the home of necessities. We must show the degeneracy caused by drink. We must show the loss in mental power. We must show the loss in health. We must show the waste in money.

With emphasis we must place the responsibility where it belongs upon society leaders who maintain the social standards of wine-drinking countries even though they know that such standards cannot be maintained without purchasing liquor of a bootlegger and so helping to finance him.

Special privileges allowed foreign diplomats in Washington of importing liquors for use of themselves and their employees and so giving them the legal right to maintain in America foreign social standards are productive of great harm and should be abolished. We rather like the attitude of a great General in the World War who, when he was in this country, refused to drink intoxicating liquors out of respect to the law of the nation.

We appeal to native-born Americans to set foreigners, whether their stay here be long or short, such an example that they will know they are not welcome to our country unless they accept our laws and obey them. They should not take advantage of our better wages and better standards of living unless they are willing to accept our laws. Let us urge all organizations and religious bodies which have passed resolutions for law enforcement to recognize obedience to the Eighteenth Amendment as an integral part of law enforcement.

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Let us give prohibition a chance by expecting all who talk dry and vote dry to live dry, by obeying the law at their clubs, in their hotels, at their places of business and in their homes.

Law observance is a moral obligation. It is personal and individual. In the early days of New England when municipal lighting of streets was unheard of, each householder hung a lantern outside his door to light the steps of his fellow-men. At the call of fire the men and boys rushed to the scene of disaster and the women threw buckets from their doors and windows into the street that the men might not be delayed. They too helped. The community was protected and safeguarded from home to home.

Let us now appeal to the citizens of our country to make a great bulwark of protection against the liquor traffic from *home to home*. To this end willing obedience to the law is necessary.

Give prohibition a chance personally and politically. The liquor traffic had its day.

APPENDICES

I. DELICIOUS NON-ALCOHOLIC DRINKS

One way of giving prohibition its chance, is to serve delicious non-alcoholic drinks. Following are practical suggestions.

Refreshing drinks made of fruit juices are naturally popular in summer but are equally delicious served at public and private functions all the year round. The hostess will find these non-alcoholic fruit drinks delicate in flavour, appealing to the eye, and attractive to her guests. We give a few recipes, but the hostess will soon learn to experiment with combinations of flavours herself and will be delighted with the results.

These recipes, suitable for a variety of occasions and gleaned from the indicated sources, we introduce with the following

SUGGESTIONS:

Sugar sirup is superior to plain sugar. To make, use one cupful of sugar to each half cup of water, and boil together for five minutes.

Left over fruit juice from canned fruits should be saved; it can be used as a substitute for sugar sirup.

A plentiful supply of clean ice is necessary, either from the trays of a mechanical refrigerator unit or from the iced refrigerator; in the latter case it should be chopped in small pieces to fit conveniently into the glasses but not shaved thin enough to melt too rapidly. When the fruit drinks are served from a punch bowl, a block of ice in the bowl adds to the attractiveness and keeps the punch icy cool.

Fruit beverages are best prepared three or four hours in advance so that they may ripen and the flavours blend. They should be kept in the refrigerator.

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The same care should be taken to prevent fermentation in fruit drinks as is taken with canned fruit which is considered "spoiled" when fermented, this being another name for acetic and alcoholic fermentation.

Do not make your fruit drinks too sweet, for a tart drink quenches thirst better. Carbonated water instead of plain ice water adds zip and sparkle to a mild punch.

RECIPES

The following are contributed by Dr. Louise Stanley, Chief of the Bureau of Home Economics, Department of Agriculture:

Orange Tea

$\frac{1}{2}$ cup tea
1 cup orange juice
 $\frac{1}{4}$ cup lemon juice
 $\frac{1}{2}$ cup pineapple juice
2 tablespoons sugar
(Serves 4 people)

Cherry Shrub

1 cup cherry juice
 $\frac{1}{4}$ cup sugar
1 cup tea, black
 $\frac{1}{2}$ cup water
(Serves 4 people)

Orangeade

3 large oranges
2 medium lemons
 $\frac{1}{2}$ cup sugar
3 cups water
(8 measuring cups)

Raspberry Freeze

$\frac{1}{2}$ cup pineapple juice
 $\frac{1}{2}$ cup raspberry juice
 $\frac{1}{4}$ cup orange juice
 $\frac{1}{4}$ cup lemon juice
 $\frac{3}{4}$ pint water
2 tablespoons sugar
2 egg whites
(Serves 8 people)

Fruit Punch

Freeze until half stiff. Turn into freezer with paddle removed and let stand for 15 minutes.

Lemonade

1 cup sugar
2 cups water

$\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ cup of strained
lemon juice
 $\frac{1}{16}$ teaspoon salt

Make a sirup by boiling the water and sugar for five minutes. Cool and stir in the fruit juice. Add cracked ice until thoroughly cold and then add sufficient ice water to suit the individual taste. Any charged water in place of the ice water is an improvement.

Fruit Punch

1 can grated pineapple
 3 cups boiling water
 1 cup freshly made, strong tea
 Juice of 6 lemons
 Juice of 10 oranges
 ¼ teaspoon salt

1 quart grape, currant, logan-
 berry, raspberry, or straw-
 berry juice
 2 pints charged water or gin-
 ger ale
 2 pounds sugar boiled with 1
 quart water for 10 minutes
 Ice and ice water

Combine the pineapple, fruit juices, tea, salt, and the sirup after it has cooled. It is better to make the punch a few hours ahead and let it stand, closely covered, on ice to chill and ripen. At serving time, add the charged water, or ginger ale, and cracked ice and ice water to dilute to the strength desired. Garnish with thin slices of fruit and mint leaves.

Spiced Grape Juice

1 quart grape juice
 ½ cup sugar
 ⅛ teaspoon salt

8 to 12 pieces (1 in. long)
 stick cinnamon
 12 to 16 whole cloves

Mix all the ingredients and bring to the boiling point. Allow the fruit juice to stand for three or four hours so that the flavour of the spice will be drawn out. When ready to serve reheat and remove the spices. Lemon juice may be added if desired.

Farmers' Bulletin No. 1075 entitled "Unfermented Grape Juice—How to Make it in the Home" can be obtained free by addressing the Office of Information, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

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From an article *Frosty Drinks* by Demetria M. Taylor in *Good Housekeeping* of July 1929:

Lime Fizz

This drink is deliciously cooling. Make an orange sirup by boiling together for five minutes one-half cupful each of water and sugar and thin shavings from the rind of one orange. Cool and strain. Add the juice of four limes or one-fourth cupful of bottled lime juice. Dilute with one pint of ice water or charged water. Add whole strawberries to garnish. Makes one and one-half pints.

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Oriental Punch

Boil together for five minutes the following ingredients: three-fourths cupful of sugar, one and one-half cupfuls of water, the thin shavings from the rind of one lemon, three whole cloves, an inch stick of cinnamon, one tablespoon of chopped, crystallized ginger. Cool and strain. Add the juice of three lemons. Colour a light green with vegetable colouring. Add one cupful of ice water and place a bouquet of mint in the top of the pitcher. Makes about one and one-half pints.

* * * *

From Miss Emma Alexander of the Harriet Judson Y. W. C. A., Brooklyn, New York:

Grape Juice Fizz

To one quart of grape juice add one-half cup lemon juice and one quart of raspberry water ice. Pour this over a block of ice in a punch bowl and add one pint of vichy water. Serve in punch glasses. The same recipe can be used with orange and lemon juice.

Fruit Punch

One quart grape juice, two quarts vichy water, one cup lemon juice, one cup orange juice, two cups sugar, two cups shredded pineapple. Mix and let stand for three or four hours. Serve on ice block.

Lemon Ice Punch

One quart of lemon ice, two quarts of grape juice, two quarts of cold tea. Put block of ice in punch bowl, cover with lemon ice and mix tea and grape juice. Pour over top.

Iced Chocolate

Melt one ounce of chocolate in sauce pan, add two tablespoons sugar, one-half cup boiling water and one-half cup scalding hot milk. Boil until thicker than ordinary drink. Chill. Place small block of ice in a punch bowl and add to this one pint of vanilla ice cream to each

quart of chocolate. Strong coffee can be used in the same way.

* * * *

From the New York State College of Home Economics
at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York:

Grape Punch

Grape juice, 4 qts.
Juice of 16 lemons
Juice of 8 oranges

Sugar, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 qts.
Water, 8 qts.
($3\frac{1}{2}$ gallons or 90 servings)

Mint Julep

5 lemons
1 bunch fresh mint
 $1\frac{1}{2}$ cups sugar

$\frac{1}{2}$ cup water
3 bottles ginger ale

Combine ingredients except ginger ale and let stand one-half hour. Add ginger ale, pour over ice, and serve in small glasses.

Pineapple Lemonade

1 pint water
1 cup sugar
1 quart ice water

1 No. 2 can grated pineapple
Juice of 3 lemons

Make sirup by boiling water and sugar ten minutes, add pineapple and lemon juice; cool, strain, and add ice-water.

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II. PROHIBITION PROGRESS AS PORTRAYED BY DECISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

**Prepared by Lenna Lowe Yost, Director of the
Department of Legislation, National W. C. T. U.**

TRANSPORTATION

Wilkerson v. Rahrer (140 U. S. 545)

On May 25, 1891, the Court handed down a decision sustaining an Act of Congress, known as the Wilson Act, which provided that liquors transported into a state for use in the state are subject to the existing laws of the state whether in the original package or otherwise.

LABELING LIQUOR SHIPMENTS

United States v. Freeman (239 U. S. 117)

November 15, 1915, the Court upheld the Act of Congress, requiring that all shipments of liquor be plainly marked on the outside, showing contents of shipment, purpose for which to be used, and the name of consignor and consignee.

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION

Clark Distilling Company v. Western Maryland and Express Companies and the State of West Virginia (242 U. S. 311)

January 8, 1917, the Court sustained the Webb-Kenyon Act. This removed the illegal shipment of intoxicating liquors from the protection of the interstate transportation clause of the Constitution and gave the states the right to prohibit shipments of intoxicating liquor into the state from outside.

POSSESSION

Crane v. Campbell (245 U. S. 304)

December 10, 1917, the United States Supreme Court held that the state had a right to prohibit possession of intoxicating liquors for any purpose and to prohibit the use of compounds or tablets from which intoxicating liquors might be made.

TWO-THIRDS VOTE

Missouri Pacific Railway Company v. The State of Kansas (248 U. S. 276)

January 7, 1919, the Court handed down a decision in which it ruled that a two-thirds vote of Congress, necessary to pass a bill over the President's veto, means a two-thirds vote of a quorum present and voting and not necessarily a two-thirds vote of the members elected.

On the same date the Court reaffirmed its decision sustaining the constitutionality of the Webb-Kenyon Act.

TRANSPORTATION

United States v. Dan Hill (248 U. S. 420)

January 13, 1919, the Court held that the Reed Amendment prohibited a person from carrying liquors into a prohibition state for his own use, even though the law of the state permitted such transportation of liquors.

WAR PROHIBITION**Hamilton v. Kentucky Distillers (251 U. S. 146)**

December 15, 1919, the Court in an unanimous decision upheld the war prohibition law. Two cases were involved; one appealed from the District Court of Kentucky by Elwood Hamilton, where the case against the Kentucky distillers was lost, and a case appealed from the District Court of New York by Alphons Dryfoos and others v. William Edwards, Collector of Internal Revenue, in which case the law was sustained.

DEFINITION OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS**Ruppert v. Caffey (251 U. S. 264)**

January 5, 1920, the Court held that Congress had the power to define intoxicating liquors and fix the standards of per cent permissible under the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Court said the power conferred to make all laws which are necessary and proper for carrying into execution powers specifically enumerated, is also an express power. Since Congress has power to increase war efficiency by prohibiting the liquor traffic, no reason appears why it should be denied the power to make its prohibition effective.

TRANSPORTATION**United States v. Simpson (252 U. S. 465)**

May 6, 1920, the Court reaffirmed its decision that a person cannot transport liquor, even for his own use. The case involved transportation in an automobile from one state to another in violation of the Reed Amendment.

REFERENDUM**Hawke v. Smith (253 U. S. 221)**

June 1, 1920, the Court handed down a decision declaring that the action of state legislatures is sufficient to ratify an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The referendum provisions of state constitutions or statutes have no application.

EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT AND VOLSTEAD ACT**Rhode Island v. Palmer (253 U. S. 350)**

June 7, 1920, the Court upheld the validity of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Validity of the prohibition amendment and portions of the enforcement act were involved in seven separate proceedings before the Supreme Court. Two of these were original suits brought by Rhode Island and New Jersey as sovereign states to enjoin enforcement in their jurisdiction upon the grounds that both enactments were unconstitutional. The other cases were direct appeals from lower court decisions.

In all cases a general attack on the amendment was made on the ground that it was revolutionary and was really legislation in the guise of a constitutional amendment designed to regulate the private habits of individuals; that it interfered with the state's police powers; that it was invalid because adopted by two-thirds of the members of Congress present when the vote was taken and not by two-thirds of the entire membership.

DATE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT BECAME EFFECTIVE**Dillon v. Gloss (256 U. S. 368)**

May 16, 1921, the Court held the limitation contained in the Eighteenth Amendment requiring its ratification within seven years did not invalidate it. This was the first amendment to the Constitution which contained such a limitation. The Eighteenth Amendment provided that it should go into effect one year after being ratified. The

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legislatures of the last of the necessary three-fourths of the states ratified on January 16, 1919. The Secretary of State did not proclaim its ratification until January 29, 1919. The court declared it was the date upon which ratification was consummated, and not the date of proclamation, which controlled, and that it would take judicial notice of that date. The claim of the defendant who was arrested January 17th, 1920, that the law did not become effective until January 29th, was denied.

WITHDRAWAL FROM BONDED WAREHOUSE FOR PERSONAL USE PROHIBITED

Cornell v. Moore (257 U. S. 491)

January 30, 1922, the Court held that the owner of warehouse receipts covering liquors stored in a bonded warehouse could not withdraw them for personal use in his home, no matter whether purchased before or after the Eighteenth Amendment became effective.

STATE LAWS APPROPRIATE FOR ENFORCEMENT NOT REPEALED

Vigliottl v. Pennsylvania (258 U. S. 403)

April 10, 1922, the Court held that penal provisions of a state law enacted prior to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment which are appropriate for its enforcement, were not repealed. The fact that a definition of intoxicating liquors in a state law is more restrictive than the federal statute does not invalidate it. The court sustained an indictment for the sale of liquor without a license under the Brooks law of Pennsylvania, Act of May 13, 1887. This prohibits the sale of any beverages containing alcohol without a license.

TRANSIT FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER

Grogan v. Walker and Sons (259 U. S. 80)

May 15th, 1922, the Court ruled that liquor, while within the United States, in transit from one foreign country to another, can be seized under the Prohibition Act. The opinion of the Court, delivered by Justice Holmes, referred to the danger of "leakage in transit," emphasizing the purpose of the Prohibition Amendment and the Volstead Act, to prevent the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

OFFENSES TWICE PUNISHABLE

United States v. Lanza (260 U. S. 377)

December 11, 1922, through Chief Justice Taft the Court handed down the decision that prohibition violators may be prosecuted and punished by both State and Federal authorities for the same offense.

The Court declared that the "double jeopardy" clause in the Constitution applied solely to two or more prosecutions by the Federal Government for the same offense. In other words, if a State Court fails to mete out punishment sufficiently drastic in the opinion of the Federal enforcement officers, they may at once institute prosecution against the offender, and the Federal Courts have full authority to punish him again for the same offense, under the National Prohibition Act.

REVENUE LAWS APPLIED IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF PROHIBITION

United States v. Stafoff (260 U. S. 477)

January 2, 1923, the Supreme Court held that old Internal Revenue laws could be invoked, where applicable, as an aid in the enforcement of prohibition. The penalties which they provide are more severe than those in the National Prohibition Act. The decision covered three cases, which challenged the efforts of the government.

The Court held that the Supplemental Prohibition Enforcement Act

of November 23, 1921, from the time it went into effect, "had the same operation as if, instead of saying that the laws referred to (in it) shall continue in force, it has enacted them in terms."

LIQUORS BARRED FROM TERRITORIAL WATERS

Cunard Steamship Co. v. Mellon (262 U. S. 100)

April 30, 1923, the Court's decision barred all liquors from territorial waters of the United States. The Court, in making its decision, bases it on the Eighteenth Amendment and not the Enforcement Act. Sec. 1 of the Amendment reads as follows:

"Sec. 1. After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby proscribed."

POSSESSION

State v. Moore (U. S.)

March 4, 1924, the Court sustained state laws prohibiting the possession of intoxicating liquors acquired before national prohibition. The Court affirmed the conviction of one under the laws of Idaho for having in his possession intoxicating liquor. He asserted that the liquor was obtained prior to national prohibition, and denied that the state could prohibit him from having what the Federal laws permitted.

SEARCH AND SEIZURE

Center v. United States (267 U. S. 575)

February 2, 1925, in this case the plaintiff in error contended that his constitutional immunity from unreasonable search and seizure had been violated by the admission in a Federal prosecution of testimony of local police to facts obtained by them while acting under State law, through an alleged unlawful search and seizure, but without collusion with or at the instance of Federal officers. The Court decided against this contention, affirming the decision of the court below upon the authority of *Burdeau v. McDowell* (265 U. S. 465, 475).

SEARCHING AUTOMOBILES

Carroll et al. v. United States (267 U. S. 132)

March 2, 1925, in this noteworthy decision the Supreme Court reiterated the doctrine that the fourth Amendment denounces only such searches and seizures as are unreasonable; and held that a prohibition officer who has probable cause for believing that contraband liquor is being transported in an automobile may stop and search the vehicle, without a search warrant, and may seize the liquor found therein.

SEARCH WARRANT

Steele v. United States (two cases—267 U. S. 498, 267 U. S. 505)

April 13, 1925, in one of these cases the Court settled affirmatively the highly important question whether a prohibition agent is a "civil officer of the United States" within the meaning of the Espionage Act, (as incorporated into the National Prohibition Act), and may therefore receive and execute search warrants. The decision in the other case is instructive as to what constitutes probable cause for the issuance of a search warrant, what is a sufficient description of the place to be searched and the property to be seized, and what amounts to a reasonable search under a warrant.

Dumbra et al. v. United States (268 U. S. 435)

May 25, 1925, plaintiffs in error contended that their constitutional rights had been violated by the search of their premises under a search warrant issued without probable cause, and that the prohibi-

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tion agent serving the warrant had no authority to receive and execute it. The Court disposed of the latter contention by following its decision in the *Steele case*, supra. As to probable cause, the Court reviewed the evidence and decided that the facts and circumstances were such as to warrant a prudent and cautious man in believing that the offense charged had been committed.

INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL

Selzman v. United States (268 U. S. 466)

June 1, 1925, this case involved the constitutionality of the provisions of the National Prohibition Act, relating to industrial alcohol, it being contended by plaintiff in error that since the Eighteenth Amendment relates to intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes only, and denatured alcohol is not usable as a beverage, the Amendment does not give to Congress authority to prevent or regulate its sale. In upholding the constitutionality of said provisions, the Court recognized the implied as well as the express powers of Congress under the Eighteenth Amendment.

VALIDITY OF THE VOLSTEAD ACT

Druggan v. Anderson, United States Marshall (269 U. S. 36)

October 19, 1925, in this case petitioner, who was imprisoned for contempt in disobeying a temporary injunction issued under Section 22, Title II, National Prohibition Act, applied for a writ of habeas corpus, contending that Title II of said Act was unconstitutional because enacted before the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution went into effect. The Supreme Court, in upholding the validity of the National Prohibition Act, held that Congress had power, upon the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, to enact laws intended to carry out constitutional provisions for the future, without awaiting the time when the Amendment should take effect.

DESTRUCTION OF LIQUORS

South Fork Brewing Company v. United States (270 U. S. 631)

March 15, 1926, the sole question here was the sufficiency of the evidence to sustain the finding of the lower courts that appellants were keeping beer on their premises in violation of the National Prohibition Act, so as to justify a decree for the destruction thereof. The Supreme Court affirmed the decisions of the lower courts in favor of the Government.

RECORDS OF ILLEGAL LIQUORS

United States v. Katz (two cases—271 U. S. 354)

May 24, 1926, these cases involved the question of whether or not the defendants in error could be held liable for failure to make a permanent record of their sales of intoxicating liquor, as required by Section 10, Title II, National Prohibition Act. The Supreme Court held that said section, interpreted in the light of other provisions of the Act, does not apply to those who sell liquors illegally and not as permittees. The Government's contention was that such a construction of Section 10 puts a premium upon the activities of bootleggers and illegitimate drug concerns.

DENIAL OF PERMITS

Ma-King Products Company v. Blair, Commissioner (271 U. S. 479)

June 1, 1926, in this case the Supreme Court decided that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in the exercise of the discretion granted him by the National Prohibition Act, may deny an application for a permit to operate a denaturing plant where he has reasonable grounds, upon the evidence presented to him, for believing that the

applicants are not fit persons to be entrusted with a permit placing in their hands large quantities of intoxicating liquor which might easily be diverted to illegal use. This decision was of great importance to the Government in the administration of the prohibition laws.

FORFEITURE OF VEHICLES

United States v. One Ford Coupe

Port Gardner Investment Company v. United States (not yet reported)

November 22, 1926, in the first named case the Court held that Section 3450 of the Revised Statutes, under which an offending vehicle may be forfeited regardless of the innocence of its owner, had not been superseded by Section 26, Title II, National Prohibition Act, but was still available for the forfeiture of the vehicles illicitly transporting intoxicating liquor. November 23, 1926, in the *Port Gardner* case the Court held that the Government, having elected to prosecute the driver of an automobile under Section 26, National Prohibition Act, could not afterwards avail itself of Section 3450 of the Revised Statutes for the forfeiture of the vehicle, but must proceed with the forfeiture as provided by Section 26 of the National Prohibition Act, under which section the forfeiture may be defeated by the intervention of innocent owners or lienholders.

MOTOR BOAT SEIZURE

Dodge v. United States

November 23, 1926, the court held that a liquor-laden motor boat, "Ray of Block Island," seized by the city police officers and turned over to Federal prohibition officers after being unloaded, was subject to forfeiture under Section 26, Title II, National Prohibition Act, on the theory that the Government had ratified and adopted seizure by police officers.

LIMITATION FOR MEDICAL PRESCRIPTIONS

Lambert v. Yellowley

November 29, 1926, the Court upheld the constitutional validity of Section 7, Title II, National Prohibition Act, placing a limitation of one pint upon the amount of liquor which may be prescribed by a physician for use by the same person within any period of ten days.

CIVIL ACTION AGAINST SAME PARTIES

Murphy v. United States

December 6, 1926, the Court held that a judgment of acquittal on a criminal charge of maintaining a common nuisance in violation of Section 21, Title II, of the National Prohibition Act is not a bar to a civil action brought under Section 22, Title II of the Act against the same parties to abate the same alleged nuisance.

DOUBLE PUNISHMENT

Albrecht v. United States

January 3, 1927, Albrecht contended that his constitutional rights had been violated by the imposition of double punishment, because the liquor which he was convicted of having sold was the same as that he was convicted of having possessed. But the Court said possessing and selling were distinct offenses, the language of the Court being: "One may obviously possess without selling, and one may sell and cause to be delivered a thing of which he has never had possession; or one may have possession and later sell, as appears to have been done in this case."

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RETAINED AS EVIDENCE

McGuire v. United States

January 3, 1927, in this case Government officers destroyed without court order or other legal authority all of certain liquors seized except one quart of whiskey and one quart of alcohol which they retained as evidence. Court held that the seizure of the liquor received in evidence was distinct from the destruction of the rest, and that neither the seizure of that liquor nor its use as evidence infringed any constitutional immunity of the accused.

OFFICERS OF SHIPS SEIZED NOT IMMUNE FROM PROSECUTION

George Ford v. United States (Quadra) (273 U. S. 593)

April 11, 1927, this case arose through the seizure of a British rum-running vessel outside of American territorial waters. The vessel, with her officers and crew and a cargo of liquor, was towed into port of San Francisco, where the captain and certain other officers were convicted of conspiracy to violate the National Prohibition Act and the Tariff Act of 1922. The Court, after deciding that the seizure was in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of May 22, 1924, between the United States and Great Britain to prevent the smuggling of intoxicating liquors, held that the treaty agreement for taking a vessel into court "for adjudication" intended not only the adjudication of the vessel but of all persons and everything on board; therefore the officers of the "Quadra" were not immune from prosecution for conspiracy to commit offenses against the United States.

SALE OF ARTICLES ILLEGAL

Edenfield v. United States (273 U. S. 660)

January 24, 1927, in this case the Court sustained the Government's contention that an inference of a vendor's guilty connection with a conspiracy may be drawn from this sale of articles designed for use in the illegal manufacture of liquor.

COAST GUARD UPHELD IN MAKING SEIZURES

Maul v. United States (274 U. S. 501)

May 31, 1927, in this case an American vessel registered for coast-wise trade only was seized by officers of the United States Coast Guard at a point 34 miles from shore with a cargo of whiskey aboard. The question to be determined was whether the Coast Guard had authority to seize an American vessel beyond the 12-mile limit prescribed in the Tariff Act of 1922, upon reasonable belief that such vessel is engaged in violating a law of the United States. The Supreme Court upheld the Coast Guard's authority to make such seizures.

SEIZURES LEGAL BEYOND TWELVE MILES

United States v. Lee (274 U. S. 559)

May 31, 1927, in this case the Court upheld a conviction for conspiracy to violate the Tariff and Prohibition Acts upon evidence obtained through the search and seizure by the Coast Guard of an American vessel on the high seas beyond 12 miles from the coast.

SEARCH WARRANTS

United States v. Berkeness (275 U. S. 149)

November 21, 1927, under the National Prohibition Act no warrant may issue to search for intoxicating liquor in a strictly private dwelling occupied as such unless the dwelling is being used for the unlawful sale of liquor. This general act has been extended to Alaska and supersedes earlier legislation which applied only to that territory.

Marron v. United States (275 U. S. 192)

November 21, 1927, both the Fourth Amendment and federal statutes limit seizures under a federal search warrant to the articles described therein; but if officers come upon a man while he is committing a crime they may arrest him and, without a warrant, forthwith search the place and seize the things used to carry on the criminal enterprise, including the account books and bills of an unlawful dealer in intoxicating liquors.

EVIDENCE IN FEDERAL COURT**Gambino v. United States (275 U. S. 310)**

December 12, 1927, where state troopers made an unauthorized seizure of liquor solely for the purpose of aiding the United States in the enforcement of its laws, that liquor may not be received in evidence in a trial in a federal court.

SALE OF AUTOMOBILES**Commercial Credit Co. v. United States (275 U. S. 511)**

February 20, 1928, when the driver of an automobile is convicted of the unlawful possession of liquor incidental to transportation, the United States may sell the automobile only under section 26 of the National Prohibition Act, which saves the interest of innocent owners and lienors.

PADLOCK PROVISIONS**Grosfield v. United States (276 U. S. 494)**

April 9, 1928, under the padlock provisions of the National Prohibition Act, a court may close for a year property upon which liquor has been manufactured or sold illegally, even though the owner had not known of its illegal use or had ousted the tenant before the padlock proceedings, if there is reasonable ground for apprehending renewed misuse of the property.

FAILURE TO REPORT VIOLATIONS**Donnelley v. United States (276 U. S. 505)**

April 9, 1928, the National Prohibition Act provides for the punishment of any prohibition enforcement officer who intentionally fails to report to the United States Attorney any violation of the act of which he has knowledge.

WIRE TAPPING**Olmstead et al. v. United States (277 U. S. 438)**

June 4, 1928, in this case the Court held that the use of evidence in a liquor conspiracy case of private telephone conversation, between the defendants and others, intercepted by means of wire tapping, was not a violation of the Fourth and Fifth Amendments and, therefore, was permissible in the Federal courts.

III. BOOKS OF REFERENCE

History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade: Wittenmyer.

The Liquor Problem in all Ages: Dorchester.

The Crusade in Washington Court House: Carpenter.

Fifty Years of the Temperance Reform: ed. by Stebbins and Brown.

Life of Frances E. Willard: Anna A. Gordon.

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Women Torch-Bearers: Elizabeth Gordon.

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Life of Susan B. Anthony: Rheta Childs Dorr.

Prohibition at Its Worst: Fisher.

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Reports of the World's W. C. T. U.

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